OWEN JONES, ARCHITECT

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OWEN JONES, ARCHITECT

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SUMMARY

This dissertation investigates Owen Jones's (1809-1874) contribution to the practice, theory, and study of architecture, during nineteenth-century Britain. Jones's projects and commissions are studied through their descriptions and reception in the professional and popular press, drawings and photographs, site visits, and discussion in architectural exhibition catalogues and architectural histories. In addition, Jones's lectures and writings are examined within the context of contemporary publications and theory, demonstrating the impact of his ideas on the art critic, John Ruskin, and Jones's influence on the designs and essays of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin.

Although Jones has been recognized by historians, including Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Nikolaus Pevsner, as a major nineteenth century designer, no study has focused solely on his contributions to the practice, the profession, and the theoretical base of architecture during the last century. This inquiry identifies and documents Jones's significance in these areas, revealing the originality of his work, his competency and apparent enthusiasm for new technologies and building types, and a consistency of ideas previously unrecognized. These findings contribute to research on Jones and studies of the nineteenth-century, particularly in the practice, profession, and philosophy of architecture.

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign, Londoners discovered themselves surrounded by a city in the process of rebuilding itself. Vast engineering and architectural structures were erected to accommodate a dramatically increased population and to facilitate the functions created through incredible industrial and social change. The demand for new types of buildings with increased attention to the safety, comlublic presented difficult challenges for architects only recently united in a professional effort to address questions of ethics, compensation, education, and the design and construction of buildings.

Owen Jones (1809-1874) emerged within this context as an early advocate for a new style of architecture expressive of the era. Through observing other ages and cultures, he recognized the reciprocal relationship between culture and architecture and believed that the quality of British life would be enhanced through improved design. Acting in the tradition of Vitruvious, Alberti, and Palladio, Jones addressed fundamental architectural questions both in practice and in writings aimed at increasing the understanding of other architects.

Nikolaus Pevsner and Henry-Russell Hitchcock referred to the significant contributions of Jones in their nineteenth century studies, but neither prepared a comprehensive review of his work.[1] The seminal study on Jones is Michael Darby's

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[1]Nikolaus Pevsner, "There is no book on Owen Jones yet---a serious gap in the historiography of Victorian design," *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century,* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972, p. 157. In addition, Pevsner includes Jones 's work in *A History of Building Types,* Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1976; *The Sources of Modern Architecture and Design,* London, Thames and Hudson, 1985, and in *Pioneers of Modern Design from William Morris to Walter Gropius;* London, Peregrine Books, 1986.

dissertation entitled "Owen Jones and the Eastern Ideal."[2] This dissertation respects and affirms Darby's work and complements his findings.

Darby's in-depth investigation of Jones's participation in the development of chromolithography, of book design, and of other aspects of the decorative arts in Britain, precludes extensive treatment of these topics in this text. It is necessary to include a review of Jones's writings and projects, first, since they are critical to any discussion of Jones as an architect, secondly, because the reader of this dissertation may not be familiar with Darby's initial study; and thirdly, because this dissertation both adds new information to the study of Jones and provides a reassessment of his importance and effectiveness as both a practicing and theoretical architect.

Other studies which must be considered in research on Jones include Michael Darby's 1973 exhibit and catalogue "Marble Halls" prepared with John Physick, and Darby's 1983 exhibition and catalogue, *The Islamic Perspective.*[3] *The Oriental Obsession,* by John Sweetman, builds upon Darby's research, continuing the discussion of Jones within the context of the Orientalism of the last century.[4] Darby and David Van Zanten collaborated on another important aspect of Jones's architecture in the article "Owen Jones's Iron Buildings of the 1850s."[5] Van Zanten has also established Jones's significance with regard to architectural polychromy both in studies of ancient architecture and in contemporary practice.[6]

Centuries, Hammondsworth, Penguin Books, Ltd., 1987; in *Th Crystal Palace*, Northampton, MA, Smith College Museum of Art, 1952, and in *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain,* New Haven, Yale University Press, 1954. Pevsner includes Jones 's work in *A History of Building Types,* Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1976; *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century,* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972; *The Sources of Modern Architecture and Design,* London, Thames and Hudson, 1985, and in *Pioneers of Modern Design from William Morris to Walter Gropius;* London, Peregrine Books, 1986.

[2]Darby, Michael, "Owen Jones and the Eastern Ideal," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Reading (UK), 1974, referred to as Darby Dissertation in the remainder of footnotes.

[3]Darby and John Physick, "Marble Halls", London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1973;Darby, *The Islamic Perspective,* London, World of Islam Festival Trust, Scorpion Pica, Ltd., 1983.

[4]John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

[5]Michael Darby and David Van Zanten, "Owen Jones's Iron Buildings of the 1850s", *Architectura,* 1974, pp. 53-75.

[6]Van Zanten, *The Architectural Polychromy of the 1830s,* (Ph.D. dissertation Harvard, 1970),

More recent studies have focused on particular aspects of Jones's work, especially on his encyclopedic study *The Grammar of Ornament* and on his prolific designs for wallpapers, textiles, and other furnishings. Studies involving *The Grammar* include John Kresten Jespersen's dissertation titled "Owen Jones's The Grammar of Ornament of 1856: Field Theory in Victorian Design at the Mid-Century," Ellen Christensen's "The Significance of Owen Jones's The Grammar of Ornament for the Development of Architectural Ornament in Twentieth Century Europe and America," and "Ornament and Ideology: A Study in Mid-Nineteenth Century British Design Theory," a dissertation by John Grant Rhodes.[7] In *The Sense of Order,* E. H. Gombrich identifies significant points in Jones's theory, while references in Stuart Durant's *Ornament,* Charlotte Gere and Michael Whiteway's *Nineteenth Century Design from Pugin to Mackintosh* and Marilyn Oliver Hapgood's *Wallpaper and the Artist* point to his ability as a designer.[8]

Although these texts, and the writings of Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Simon Jervis, and Nikolaus Pevsner contain discussions of Jones,[9] most standard architectural histories either eliminate him or limit their references to an acknowledgement of his authorship of *The Grammar of Ornament* and his role as the

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published in the Garland series *Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts,* New York, 1975 and Van Zanten, "Architectural polychromy: life in architecture", *The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth Century French Architecture,* ed. by Robin Middleton, Cambridge, MA, The MIT Press, pp. 197-215.

[7]John Kresten Jespersen, "Owen Jones's The Grammar of Ornament of 1856: Field Theory in Victorian Design at the Mid-Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1984), Ellen Christensen, "The Significance of Owen Jones's The Grammar of Ornament for the Development of Architectural Ornament in Twentieth Century Europe and America" (Master of Arts Thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1986), and John Grant Rhodes, "Ornament and Ideology: A Study in Mid-Nineteenth Century British Design Theory" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard, 1983).

[8]E. H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order,* London, Phaidon Press, 1984; Stuart Durant, *Ornament,* Woodstock, Overlook Press, 1986; Charlotte Gere and Michael Whiteway, *Nineteenth Century Design from Pugin to Mackintosh,* New York, Henry N. Abrams, 1994, and Marilyn Oliver Hapgood, *Wallpaper and the Artist,* New York, London, Paris, Abbeville Press, 1992.

[9]Simon Jervis wrote a bibliographic entry on Jones in *The Penguin Dictionary of Design and Designers* and also refers to Jones in *High Victorian Design,* London, Bettina Tayleur Ltd., 1983.

Superintendent of Works for the Great Exhibition of 1851, Hyde Park, London.[10] Some texts report incorrect information; these usually concern minor errors, such as listing the wrong birthplace, but a few reveal more serious misunderstandings. For example, *Masterpieces of Architectural Drawing* characterizes Jones as a "non-architect" and *William Morris as Designer* credits Jones with designing wallhangings and papers for his competitor, Crace. In an earlier text, entitled *The Alhambra,* Albert Calvert expresses Jones's findings as his own ideas.[11]

This dissertation provides evidence to correct these inaccuracies and, in addition, approaches the investigation of Jones from a new perspective. By combining accepted methods of empirical research with critical analysis based both upon social history and on the concept of prevalent mentalities characteristic of each age, this dissertation demonstrates the following positions which are not currently acknowledged in studies of nineteenth-century architecture:

1. Jones's practice of architecture earned the respect of the profession and the public throughout his lifetime and he was afforded extraordinary recognition both at home and abroad.

2. The impact of Jones's ideas can be identified in the work of Pugin, Irving, Ruskin, and other contemporaries.

3. Ruskin developed many of his positions specifically to refute Jones, the dominant theoretical figure, in the fifties and sixties.

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[10]Marvin Trachtenberg and Isabelle Hyman, *Architecture from Prehistory to Post-Modernism;* New York, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1986; Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: a Critical History,* 3d ed., London, Thames and Hudson, 1992, and William J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900,* Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1987.

[11]Helen Powell and David Leatherbarrow, *Masterpieces of Architectural Drawing*, New York, Abbeville Press, 1982, p. 48; Ray Watkinson, *William Morris as Designer,* 1979, p. 30, and Albert F. Calvert, *The Alhambra,* London, John Lane, 1906.

CHAPTER I

PREPARING FOR ARCHITECTURE

"IF A STUDENT IN THE ARTS, EARNEST IN HIS SEARCH AFTER KNOWLEDGE...WILL EXAMINE FOR HIMSELF THE WORKS OF THE PAST, COMPARE THEM WITH THE WORKS OF NATURE, BEND HIS MIND TO A THOROUGH APPRECIATION OF THE PRINCIPLES WHICH REIGN IN EACH, HE CANNOT FAIL TO BE HIMSELF A CREATOR"12

Owen Jones's preparation for a career in architecture was typical of the training of a nineteenth-century English "enlightened gentleman-architect."[13] Lacking the the academic education received by French students at the Ecole des Beaux Arts,[14] Jones and his contemporaries received their instruction as articled pupils of practicing architects and supplemented this instruction in drawing classes and by first-hand observations made during European Grand Tours.[15] Although this approach was criticized throughout the century as inferior to the French system, the less structured English format offered opportunities to meet and experience, new people, places, and ideas, which ideally suited Jones [Figures 1-3]. His attitudes toward architecture and aesthetics, and his interest in the mentalities and

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[12]Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament,* 1868 Edition, p. 156.

[13]John Wilton-Ely, "The Rise of the Professional Architect in England," *The Architect,* ed. by Spiro Kostof, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 197.

[14]John Draper, "The Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Architectural Profession in the United States: The Case of John Galen Howard," *The Architect,* pp. 209-212. Also, see *The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture* ed. by Robin Middleton, Cambridge, MS, MIT Press, 1982.

[15]Wilton-Ely, *op. cit.,* pp. 190-197.

manifestations of other cultures, were developed during this rich, preparatory period.

The career of the British architect during the early eighteenth-century could be said to be epitomized by that of Richard Boyle, Third Earl of Burlington (1694-1753). Boyle, "the dilettante as architect," had been an arbiter of "correct taste," acquired through Classical education, an aristocratic background, and the obligatory Grand Tour.[16] By the mid-century, a new model had surfaced, displaying a more business-like and professionally-oriented approach. Architects such as Sir William Chambers (1723-1796) and Robert Adam (1728-1792) had these qualities, and advanced new professional standards of design, while at the same time promoting their own personal aesthetic preferences. Travel, while still fundamental, had, in their eyes, to be augmented with apprenticeships and drawing classes in private art schools.[17] That they judged this approach to architectural education a success can be demonstrated by comparing the training of Robert Adam with that of Owen Jones, seventy-five years later. Both were the sons of prominent fathers. William Adam, Esq. (1689-1748), the father of Robert Adam, was Surveyor of the King's Works in Scotland.[18]

Owen Jones's father ("Owain Myfyr", 1741-1815) had been born at Tyddn Tudur in Llanfihangel Glyn Myvyr in Denbighshire, Wales, and moved to London as apprentice to the furriers Messrs. Kidney & Nutt of 148 Upper Thames Street. Later, he took over that prosperous firm.[19] Feeling that the Welsh language was

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[16]*Ibid,* pp. 187-189, and Christopher Hibbert, *The Grand Tour,* London, Thames Methuen, 1987.

[17]Wilton-Ely, pp. 190-191.

[18]William Adam was appointed to the post Surveyor to the King's Works in 1729. Geoffrey Beard, *The Work of Robert Adam,* London, Bloomsbury Books, 1978, p. 229. His recognition resulted from his executed works and the publication of his designs in the presumptuously titled *Vitruvius Scoticus* (ca. 1810). See Archer, John, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture 1715-1842,* Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1985, pp. 172-3.

[19]*Gentleman's Magazine,* 84, Nov. 1814, p. 499; *National Dictionary of Biography,* s.v. Jones, Owen (1741-1814), p. 1037; R.T. Jenkins and Helen M. Ramage, *A History of the Honourable*

threatened with extinction during the 1770's, he founded the Gwyneddigian Society in London to encourage the study of his native tongue and its literature. He generously, and almost singlehandedly, supported this organization, paying for its publications and the prizes for its contests.[20] He also purchased the transcripts of all available Welsh poetry and prose, amassing a collection of 35,000 manuscripts and documents by the time he died.[21] He published a portion of this material at a personal cost of over one thousand pounds and named this anthology after himself as *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales.*[22] Matthew Arnold and others extolled his patronage of this vast collection and his publishing effort.[23] Jones also received recognition from and developed relationships with other important literary figures, including Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Robert Southey, the Poet Laureate of England.[24] Geraint Phillips, the biographer of Owain Myfyr, points to the following tribute by Robert Southey to summarize the importance of Myfyr's contribution in the history of Welsh scholarship:

> The Cymry however seem to have little feeling for the production of their ancestors; and the the praiseworthy and patriotic exertions of individuals may cause the Welsh nation to blush. When a foreigner asks the names of the nobility and gentry of the Principality who published the Myfyrian Archaeology [sic] at their own expence, we must answer that it was none of them, but Owen Jones, the Thames-street furrier.[25]

Society of Cymmrodorion, London, 1951, p.93.

[20]Jenkins and Ramage, p. 97. I am grateful to Geraint Phillips for this reference.

[21]"he left behind him one hundred volumes of manuscripts, containing 35,500 pages, which the Cymmrodorion, or Royal Cambrian Institution of London, about seven years since, purchased from his widow" *Ibid.*, p. 97. The Society donated this material, plus a few ancient manuscripts from their own collection, to the British Museum establishing the Welsh literature archive in the British Library. *Dictionary of National Biography,* s.v. "Jones, Owen (1741-1814), p. 1037.

[22]William Davies Leathart, *The origin and progress of the Gwyneddigion society of London,* London, 1831, p. 13.

[23]S.v. Jones, Owen (1741-1814), *National Dictionary of Biography,* ed. Sir Lesllie Stephen and Sir Sidnney Lee, London, Oxford University Press, 1938, p. 1037.

[24]Geraint Phillips conversation on June 26, 1995.

[25]*Quarterly Review*, vol. xxi, p. 94 and Letter to C. Flores from G. Phillips, July 6, 1995.

At his death in 1814, his five-year old only son,[26] described simply as "a brat running around the house",[27] being far too young to assume the furrier business, had a brief tenure at Charterhouse and attended private school.[28] During this period, the young Jones's major distinction appeared to have been a natural artistic talent.[29] Later, however, he would exhibit his father's penchant for collecting antique manuscripts and, like his father, he would achieve fame associated with the publication of expensive and specialized texts.

Young Owen Jones did not continue his father's dedication to the Welsh language, literature, or to the Society which his father founded.[30] One of the reasons for this may have been that Owen Myvyr is reported to have died a bitter, reclusive individual in a severely stressed economic condition created by his excessive financial commitment to the Welsh publications. In a letter to his friend and fellow antiquarian, Iolo Morganwg in 1802, the elder Jones described his condition as follows: "My property have suffered very material injury both in Trade & out of Trade so much much [sic] so that I must stop the Welsh press for some time for if I suffer my Trade to be injured by drawing upon it anymore ni vydd hynny ond Sathru ar wyau aur [that would only be treading on golden eggs]."[31]

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[26]Owen Jones was born February 9, 1809, in Thames Street, London, although several biographical listings incorrectly report his place of birth as Wales. He was the second of three children born to Hannah Jane Jones (1773-1838) and Owen Jones. His sisters Catherine Jones (1808-1884) and Hannah Jane Jones (1811-1890) never married and are buried with him in Kensal Green Cemetery, London.

[27]Geraint Phillips, biographer of Owen Myvyr, National Museum of Wales, telephone conversation June 26, 1995.

[28]Jones was enrolled at Charterhouse between 1818 (Form IX) and 1819 (FormVIII). Source: Letter from Van Oss, Headmaster, Charterhouse, to M. Darby, May 24, 1973,

Although started as a foundation for the poor and for sons of clerics and laics, by the nineteenth-century the pupils were described as boys who "belong to the upper classes, and an education obtained at Charterhouse is scarcely less of a social distinction than the much coveted and costly preparation of Eton, Harrow, or Winchester. Source: William H. Ridening, *Thackeray's London*, Boston, Cupples, Upham and Company, 1885, pp. 10-11.

[29]Darby, "Owen Jones and the Eastern Ideal" (Referred to as Darby Dissertation in subsequent footnotes, p. 6.

[30]Jenkins and Ramage, *History of the Cymmrodorion,* p. 93.

[31]NLW MS 21281E, letter 255, Letter to C. Flores from G. Phillips, July 6, 1995.

From having been an extremely gregarious figure, who spent evenings in Gwyneddigion meetings or in the "Bull" in Walbrook Street discussing his latest publication and lending money to deserving Welshmen, the elder Jones withdrew from society in his sixties and married his housekeeper. He severed his old ties and his former friend, the "unstable and vindictive" Iolo Morganwg, wrote to a London bookseller called Evan Williams in October 1813 with the following news: "Your once old friend Owen Jones is become one of the greatest misers in London - he Rolls himself up in fur and curses all Welsh Literature - and is turned pagan, he has married his maid servant - and no Venus, and she has brought him several young Bratts! And he is grown poor pure and virtuous."[32]

In October of 1817, Evan Williams wrote to Iolo with the news that "Owen Jones's widow has got another Husband into her arms!!!"[33] Since Owain Myvyr's critics seem particularly harsh in their attitudes toward his wife, it is understandable that she would not have encouraged her son to continue his father's connections or commitments.

Despite Owen Myvyr's reduced financial circumstances, he provided a legacy for his son. The young Jones inherited a portion of his father's personal property, plus Tyddyn Tudor, Llanvihangel, the former estate of Lord Bagot in North Wales.[34] The size of this eight hundred acre working farm ranked in the top two percent of all farms in England and Wales and may have induced the young Jones to appropriate the title of "Esquire", indicating rank and breeding.[35] Certainly Jones's early activities, including schooling at Charterhouse and his affiliation with the parish church of high society, St. George's Hanover-Square, were patrician. In 1842, the

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[32]*Ibid.*
[33]*Ibid.*
[34]Undated letter from C. Jones to unnamed individual.
[35]G.M. Trevelyan, *Illustrated English Social History*, Volume Four, London, Longmans, Green and Co., p. 75.

Illustrated London News described St. George's Hanover-Square as the "aristocratic temple of Hymen" famous for "Marriages in High Life."[36] That year Jones married Isabella Lucy Wild in St. George's and their nuptials were announced in the *Gentleman's Magazine* along with the reports of other "fashionable mergers."

Moreover, Owen Myvyr had attained considerable wealth and was renowned in England and on the Continent.[37] In addition, he could trace his lineage to Marchweithian, a founder of one of the royal tribes of North Wales.[38] This birthright, plus his own accomplishments, may have been sufficient to invest his only son and two daughters with the stature of privilege so important in the Victorian era. Certainly the use of the title "Esquire" by the son of an eminent personality seems a mild affectation when one considers the practice of displaying "acquired" coats-of-arms adopted by many of Jones's contemporaries, including the Pugin's and Charles Dickens.[39]

Owen Jones's architectural training was sound and first-rate. Most sources give 1825 and the age of sixteen as the commencement of his professional training, but Jones records being articled to Louis Vuillamy in 1824, when he would have been fifteen.[40] Vuillamy's (1791-1871) credentials were impressive. He had been articled

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[36]"St. George's, Hanover-Square," *Illustrated London News,* 1842, vol. 1, p. 164. Note also: Hymen is the god of marriage in Greek mythology.

[37]*Builder,* 1874, #32, p. 383.

[38]*National Dictionary of Biography,* s.v. Jones, Owen (1741-1814), p. 1037.

[39]"The Pugin's" above refers to Augustus Charles Pugin and his son, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin. Augustus Charles Pugin is reported to have suddenly "found" a family coat-of-arms including the image of a martlet and the motto "En Avant" meaning "Forward." The young Pugin used these elements, plus his own initials, as motifs on furniture, ceramics, wallcoverings, fireplace mantels, stained glass, and other decorative objects and surfaces in schemes designed for his personal use, notably at the Grange, Ramsgate. Sources: Site visit to The Grange, July, 1994; "The Microcosm of London: Pugin's Parents and his early life" lecture by Rosemary Hill, Pugin and the Gothic Revival Conference, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, June, 1994.

Dickens is reported to have selected his coat-of-arms from the back of a teaspoon. Lecture by Andrew Saunders "Pugin and literature: A set of contrasts," Pugin and the Gothic Revival Conference, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, June, 1994.

[40]Jones 's listing indicates "1824-1829 articled to Lewis Vuillamy," John Johnson Collection, New Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford, UK.

to (Sir) Robert Smirke (1780-1867), one of the leading architects of the early nineteenth century, and he had distinguished himself in studies at the Royal Academy by winning the Silver Medal in 1810, the Gold Medal in 1813, and a four-year travelling scholarship in 1818. Some of the drawings executed during his study tour had been published in two books entitled *The Bridge of Sta. Trinita at Florence* (1822) and *Examples of Ornamental Sculpture in Architecture from Greece, Asia Minor and Italy* (1823).[41]

The apprenticeship with Vuillamy may have encouraged and developed many of the latent talents most often associated with Jones. For example, Jones's ability to accomplish a large volume of exceptional work within a brief period may be the direct result of the longer hours and higher standards set by his mentor.[42] Another characteristic, shared by teacher and pupil, was the ability to design proficiently in a wide range of styles.[43] During Jones's apprenticeship (1824-1829), Vuillamy produced both classical and gothic schemes. The classical arrangements included: The Corn Exchange, Bishop's Stortford, Hertfordshire (1828); the addition of an Ionic upper storey to the facade of The Assemby Rooms, Queen's Street, Wolverhampton, Staffordshire (1829); and the early Greek Revival designs for The Law Society's Hall, Chancery Lane (1828-1832). He chose the popular archaeologically incorrect Gothic style for his ecclesiastical commissions.[44] These

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[41]Vuillamy's best known works are the Law Society, London (1828-1836), the Royal Institution, London (1838), the Dorchester House, London (1863-1870), and Westonbirt House (1863-1870). *MacMillan Encyclopedia of Architects,* s. v. "Vuillamy, Lewis."

[42]*Builder,* 1874, #32, p. 383. Other apprentices articled to Vuillamy include F.W. Porter, C.F. Maltby, J. Johnson, T. Talbot Bury, E. Walton, J. Williams, W. Wright, and Messrs. Crosley, Young, and Stokes. Darby Dissertation, p. 6.

[43]This ability is not often recognized in discussions of Jones's work and probably contributes to many of his unassigned designs not being attributed to him.

[44]Architects in the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century applied medieval elements inaccurately and superficially to evoke romantic associations and to achieve picturesque silhouettes. John Summerson explains this inventiveness as Gothic "used without the least sympathy for its inherent qualities, with little sentiment for its epoch, but with a boldness and intelligence born of no small measure of appreciation." (*Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, New York, Penguin Books, 1983, pp. 397-8). Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin

buildings include: Saint Bartholomew's Church, West Hill, Sydenham (1826-1831); Saint Barnabas, Addison Road, Kensington, (1828-1829); Saint James's Church, Park Hill, Clapham Common (1828-1829); St. Paul's Church, Burslem, Staffordshire (1828-1830); and, Saint John the Divine, Richmond-upon-Thames, Surrey (1829-1831).[45] Other works in a variety of styles produced during Jones's tenure include the Tudor scheme for the Reverend R. Lucas in the Edith Weston House, Rutland, the grandstand at Wolverhampton, Staffordshire, three stuccoed houses in Tavistock Square and Gordon Place, and alterations in several country houses: Leadenham House, Norton Hall, and Bloxham Hall in Lincolnshire and Ashburnham Park in Sussex.[46]

Vuillamy appears to have been a major influence in Jones's development, encouraging his pupil to supplement the practical experience of the architectural office by enrolling for lectures and library priviledges at the Royal Academy. Jones received admission to the Academy's antique school on June 25, 1830.[47] The focus of the Academy at the time is evident in the architectural projects specified in the biennial distribution of prizes. That December, awards were given for the best

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advocated a return to the pure Gothic elements produced during the twelfth and thirteenth-centuries. As a result of his influence, the incorrect Romantic Gothic Revival was followed by an archaeologically-inspired nineteenth-century Gothic Revival. An example of this is evident in Pugin's description of his first building, his own house at St. Marie's Grange. In a letter to his friend E. J. Wilson dated 17 July 1835, he reports: "My house is now nearly compleated and is in every part a compleat building of the 15th cent. The minutest details have been attended to...the approach over a drawbridge, the chapel with its little belfry, the antient letters worked in bricks on the walls, the gilt vanes on the roof..." Alexandra Wedgwood, *A.W. N. Pugin and the Pugin Family,* London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1985, p. 45.

[45]Vuillamy also produced the Tudor-style Edith Weston Hall, Rutland (830-1832), the Italian Renaissance Dorchester House, London (1850-1863), and the Jacobean Westonbirt House (1863-1870). Sources: Colvin, Howard, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, New York, Facts on File, Inc., s.v. Vuillamy, Lewis, and *MacMillan Encyclopedia of Architects*, ed. Adolf K. Placzek, London, The Free Press, s.v. Vuillamy, Lewis, p. 353.

[46]Darby dissertation, p. 7.

[47]Letter from A.W. Potter, Royal Academy of Arts, to C.A. Flores dated August 16, 1995, provides listing of Jones admitted to the Academy on June 25, 1830; Medal in the Owen Jones Box, John Johnson Collection, New Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford, UK, gives the date of June 26, 1830; M. Darby dissertation, p. 8 indicates admission in 1829.

scheme for a design for a British Senate-house and the best architectural drawings of the Banqueting House, Whitehall. In addition to the design competitions and lectures, the Academy offered young artists and architects a community of peers plus exposure to the latest work and ideas of the leading figures in their respective fields. John Soane, Charles R. Cockerell, and Charles Barry, the major English architects of the day, gave lectures and participated in the Academy's exhibitions. For example, the June 1830 exhibition included "A bird's-eye view of the Bank of England" by Soane, two schemes for an addition to the Pitt Press at Cambridge by Barry, and a drawing entitled "The western pediment of the Temple of Minerva Parthenon, at Athens," done at the request of the Trustees of the British Museum by Cockerell. Since the *Gentleman's Magazine* described Soane's method of representing the interior of an entire building by removing the roof and using a bird's-eye perspective, it seems likely that this was a new technique for illustrating architecture.[48]

Vuillamy may have also urged his apprentice to begin planning foreign travel as well. Jones took a short trip to Paris, Milan, Venice, and Rome in 1830, and began working for William Wallen, a surveyor, upon his return. This employment may have been a deliberate arrangement intended to equip the aspiring designer with the measuring skills and techniques required for a detailed study of ancient architecture, since Jones left Wallen after a few months for an extended tour of Europe and the Middle East.[49]

Middle Eastern destinations were not part of the typical eighteenth-century Grand Tour agenda, but they were becoming increasingly favored in the beginning of the nineteenth century. In fact, a review of the issues of the *Gentleman's Magazine* during 1829 and 1830 reveals a profusion of articles, poetry, and references to Egypt,

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[48]*Gentleman's Magazine,* June, 1830, p. 542.

[49]Jones List, Owen Jones Box, John Johnson Collection, New Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford, UK, .

Persia, and Constantinople, as well as several items providing new information on Pompeii and other European locations.[50] The information on travel and foreign architecture reported in the press was supplemented with illusionary images displayed with peripheral motion at the Cosmorama in Regent Street and on rolling painted screens in Oxford Street at the Diorama and Physiorama. A sampling of these popular images shown during the period includes a View of Venice, several interiors of St. Peter's in Rome, numerous depictions of Paris and other French sites, Grand Cairo, the great temple of Edfou (Egypt), and the most successful, the Eruption of Mount Vesuvius as it appeared in October 1822. This last was described as presenting

> a scene of the most awful grandeur. We shrink, as it were, 'with inward horror' from the devastating scene before us. The mind can scarcely divest itself of the terrible reality, so perfect is the illusion. The powers of mechanism have been called to the aid of the painters art; and instead of beholding the still life which a mere picture presents, we perceive incessant belchings and undulating masses of smoke and flame. The burning crater appears to view; the heavens are wrapt in awful obscuration; and the surrounding sea and tops of the distant turrets are ever and anon irradiated with the flickering blaze.[51]

These sources, plus many travel journals and books, such as the architect Joseph Wood's *Letters of an architect from France, Italy, and Greece* (1828), combined to present an encouraging atmosphere for young architects to undertake foreign travel to see pyramids, temples, famous churches, unearthed cities, comprising ruins and existing structures, unlike anything in England. Pure chance or impulse is usually offered to explain Jones's selection of Turkey, Egypt, Spain, and his European destinations, but that is totally out of character. An increasing

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[50]Examples of the information provided on foreign locations in the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1829 and 1830 include: "On Pompeii" (Jan., 1829); Constantinople, Russia, and Turkey (Jan, 1829),;"Herculsneum and Pompeii" (Feb., 1829); "Letters of an Architect from France, Italy, and Greece" (Feb., 1829); "The Persian Anacreaon" (March, 1829); "Temple of Absembal" [known today as Abu Simbel] (March, 1829); and "Narrative of a Tour through some Parts of the Turkish Empire." (June, 1830).

[51]*Gentleman's Magazine,* June, 1829, p. 540; August, 1829, pp. 156-7; and May, 1830, p. 447.

interest in the Middle East, in the study of polychromy, and the opportunity to visit the sites described and depicted by Vuillamy, seems a better explanation.

It seems logical that the young Jones would have been anxious to share the experiences of his teacher. Vuillamy had been among the first British architects to visit the Middle East. His recollections and drawings, and those of his friends, may have inspired their young protégé to travel and study in the same region. Existing documentation establishes the fact that Jones knew the early Egyptian travellers Charles Locke Eastlake and Joseph Bonomi before he left England.[52] Through the Academy, he would have also known of the travels in Italy, Sicily, Greece, and Turkey made by Thomas Leverton Donaldson (1795-1885), Charles Cockerell, and Charles Barry.[53]

Surviving drawings of the Yeni Valide Camii and the Sehzade Camii in Istanbul by both Vuillamy and Jones support the idea that Jones was influenced by Vuillamy's travels [Figures 4 and 5]. These elevations and sections and Jones's drawings of the Tomb of Soliman I Figures 5 and 6] demonstrate Jones's proficiency in preparing the on-site studies and documentation important in the architectural education of the period. Students on a Grand Tour measured, rendered, and sometimes produced reconstruction drawings, of the monuments and ruins they observed. These representations filled portfolios with evidence of drawing proficiency and accumulated knowledge to impress prospective clients.[54] Aspiring architects also published books featuring these plans and drawings as another way to become established in the profession.

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[52]Darby Dissertation, p. 11.

[53]Jones maintained good relationships with these three gentlemen throughout the remainder of his life.

[54]*Builder*, 1874, #32, p. 383.

Robert Adam, Lewis Vuillamy, and Owen Jones, all produced books of drawings associated with their early travels.[55] Vuillamy's books, cited previously, were compiled soon after his return to England, during the initiation of his practice, with a second edition of *Examples of Ornamental Sculpture in Architecture from Greece, Asis Minor and Italy* produced during Jones's apprenticeship.[56] Robert Adam's approach differed from Vuillamy's. Adam left the French architect Charles-Louis Clerisseau in Yugoslavia to finish the drawings for *The Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian, at Spalatro, in Dalmatia* (1764) while the young Scot set up his practice in London; as a result, when the completed book appeared, it did little to enhance the already brilliant reputation of its author. In contrast, Owen Jones's *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra* (1836-1842, 1845) was vitally important in establishing the reputation and credability of its author as an expert on colour, ornament, chromolithography, and Islamic architecture.

In 1843, Jones also followed Vuillamy and many of his peers by producing a book of drawings from his study tour abroad. Jones's text, entitled *Views on the Nile from Cairo to the Second Cataract,* contained travel sketches made by Jones and his French companion in 1833 [Figure 8]. Their work was typical of the pictures executed by architects, artists, and students during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Most scenes contrast a small group of Arab figures arranged informally in the foreground against a background of imposing ancient architecture.[57]

Jones's work in Spain and the Middle East was critical not only in providing the material for his book on the palace of the Moors, but in developing his aesthetic and

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[55]In 1843, Jones produced a book containing travel drawings by Goury and himself entitled *Views on the Nile.*

[56]Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects: 1600-1840,* New York, Facts on File, Inc., 1980, p. 857.

[57]In text accompanying 'The Temple of Edfu' from Vivant Denon's *Voyage dans las Bassae et la Haute Egypte* in 1802, Sweetman says this style of composition symbolizes the double appeal of Egypt for Europeans in the beginning of the nineteenth century: "its ancient civilisation and its present-day Muslim people." This same style of composition was used in depicting the architecture and inhabitants of other Muslim countries. Sweetman, p. 115.

architectural understanding in ways that would affect his future outlook and career. Although historians have differed in their accounts of his exact travel agenda, they agree on the importance of this foreign study for the development of his ideas, preferences, and expertise. A rare surviving personal document records his travel agenda as follows: Italy, Sicily, and Greece in 1831, Egypt and Constantinople in 1832 and 1833, Spain and France in 1834, with a return to England in 1835.[58]

This list does not provide reasons for his successive travel decisions, forcing us to continue speculation. The most popular conjecture has been that the young Englishman was seduced by the poetry of Victor Hugo into visiting particular countries in various parts of the Mediterranean.[59] The advocates of this view were unaware of Jones's literary connections or they might have added his father's friendships with Coleridge and Southey to strengthen their argument.[60] While it is possible that these poets could have shown interest in the son of an old friend, and also possible that he could have met Victor Hugo during his travel in France, there is no documentation to substantiate these propositions. The young Jones would have known the work of these poets, however, since all three enjoyed tremendous popularity, and Jones demonstrates an interest in literature and an association with literary figures throughout his life. But, even if romantic literature may have provided some inspiration to the young student, his dedication to the task of professional preparation and to the ideals of perspicacious scholarship was always

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[58]Michael Darby discusses the discrepancies between the travel chronology given in the *Builder*'s 1874 obituary notice based on an interview with Joseph Bonomi and the account given by Gottfied Semper in *Die vier Elemente der Baukunst* (1851), page 3: "After we separated in Athens, Goury together with Mr. Owen Jones, the future author (editor) of the wellknown magnificent work on the Alhambra, continued his researches in Egypt and Syria where he died of cholera in 1834." Darby Dissertation, pp. 8-11 Note: The dates provided in this text are extracted from the chronology written by Jones in the collection of personal ephemora in the John Johnson Collection, Bodleian Library at Oxford.

[59]*The Builder,* May 9, 1874, p. 384.

[60]Coleridge's *Osorio* was published in 1797 and his *Kubla Khan* in 1816, at the request of Byron; Southey produced *Thalaba the Destroyer* in 1801. Sweetman, pp. 119 and 113-4, respectively.

uppermost in his mind.

More to the point, and original to this thesis, is the fact that Jones may have had an even more calculated motivation for his choices. Like Robert Adam, he may have recognized the benefit of developing authority in a relatively new area of architectural research. Islamic architecture in the Middle East and Spain presented an obvious choice; interest continued to grow in these areas through the descriptions and drawings of artists and travellers, but no serious academic study of Islamic architecture had been produced.[61]

The subject of polychromy in ancient architecture presented another opportunity. Since the eighteenth century, archaeologists and architects, including Stuart and Revett, reported observing the remains of pigment on Greek and Roman buildings. In 1806, Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremere de Quincey (1755-1843) invented the term "polychromie" to discuss the use of semiprecious stones, gold, and paint in the decoration of the interior sculpture in Greek temples.[62] He presented his hypothesis to the Acadamie in 1806 and published similar views in his *Jupiter Olympien; ou, l'art de la sculpture antique* in 1815. Although Quatremere de Quincey restricted his argument to the coloration of interior sculpture, other architects and theorists expanded the concept of polychromy to the exteriors of ancient buildings. Franz Christain Gau, an architect teaching in Paris, published *Antiquities nubiennes* in 1822, Thomas Leverton Donaldson prepared an essay reviewing the recent findings of English architects in 1824, and Jacques-Ignace Hittorff (1792-1867), in collaboration with Karl Ludwig von Zanth (1796-1857), published polychrome restorations of the temples of Selinunte and Agrigento in 1827. Other colored reconstructions and schemes for new designs were produced by Henri Labrouste (1801-1875), Felix Louis Jacques Duban (1797-1870), and Theodore

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[61]Sweetman, pp. 112-125.
[62]Robin Middleton, *Beaux Arts*, p. 176.

Labrouste (1799-1885) as part of their studies at the Academie de France in Rome during the late 1820s. Jones may not have seen these images but he should have been familiar with the fourth volume to the *Antiquities of Athens* released between 1825 and 1830 since this volume featured Donaldson's colored reconstruction of the "Temple of Apollo Epicurius, at Bassae" and Cockerell's "Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Agrigentum'.[63] These works, plus reconstructions and writings by others, challenged the Classicist convention that the Greeks had been interested in form and created perfect buildings of white marble to emphasize the play of light and shadow on simple architectural elements.

Jones may have wanted to visit the sites described in the polychromatic studies of his contemporaries. For in choosing to visit Italy, Sicily, and Greece in 1831, he selected the three areas most studied in investigations on the decorative use of color in ancient architecture. Whether or not this was his intent is not known.[64] What is known is the French architect, Jules Goury had been conducting chromatic studies in Sicily and Greece with the German architect, Gottfried Semper. After meeting Jones in Athens in 1831, Goury and Semper parted, and the Frenchman travelled to Turkey, Egypt, and Spain with Jones.[65]

Semper described Goury as an "excellent artist, strong in mind and body, whose energy and activity was equal to his talent." He went on to say that the Frenchman's portfolio "must contain the most complete and most reliable collection on Polychromy that exists." He also referred to Goury's "methodical way" and in this characteristic the young Briton and the young Frenchman seemed to make perfect

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[63]Jones's library contained a copy of this text at his death, but it is not known when he obtained it.

[64]John Kresten Jespersen states this was Jones's intention. John Kresten Jespersen, unpublished dissertation *Owen Jones's The Grammar of Ornament of 1856: Field Theory in Victorian Design at Mid-Century, Brown University,* 1984, pp. 12.

[65]Michael Darby quotes a footnote from Gottfried Semper's *Die Vier Elemente der Baukunst* (1851): 'After we had separated in Athens, Goury together with Mr. Owen Jones ...continued his researches in Egypt and Syria." Darby Dissertation, p. 11.

working companions. The following description of their method of work in Thebes illustrates this point. The Egyptologist, Joseph Bonomi, recalled the two as follows:

> ...the two architects set to work with an extraordinary enthusiasm, and cleared out one of those crude brick arches which surround the Memnonium, and converted it into a comfortable residence, employing the fellaheen, and some of their boats even, to build a wall across the arch separating the kitchen from the studio, which was lighted by a large hole in the roof. I was struck by the facility with which the Arabs seemed to understand them with the smallest amount of words of a polyglot diallect, chiefly composed of French, and the discipline and order they had obtained in the arrangement of their folios and drawing implements.
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> From this improvised abode the two architects used to sally forth with Arabs carrying their ladders, boards, and implements for measuring, and return in the evening with a store of architectural knowledge derived from the surrounding remains that was quite astounding for accuracy and detail, with sometimes not a few picturesque sketches in water-colour of the ruins and their present occupants. Never has it seemed to me did two men work together in better harmony and success.[66]

This friendship is also an interesting parallel to Robert Adam's experience on the continent. Both Jones and Adam, in the course of their architectural preparation, met other practitioners and students from their own country and other areas during their travels. These encounters fostered valuable exchanges of ideas and facilitated debates on key issues in architectural theory and practice. Adam's associations with Giambattista Piranesi and Charles- Louis Clerisseau offered him an understanding of the latest architectural thought in Italy and France. Jones's providential relationship with Goury, a former student in the aetelier of Leclere, must have exposed him to contemporary theory in France and probably to German theory discussed with Goury by Semper.[67] Jones also established important long-term friendships with several British Egyptologists, including Robert Hay, Joseph Bonomi, and Frederick Catherwood.

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[66]*The Builder,* May 9, 1874, p. 384.

[67]David Van Zanten, "Architectural polychromy: life in architecture," *The Beaux-Arts,* p. 209.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of Jones's friendship with Goury is that their studies expanded the discussions of polychromy to include the Middle East and Moorish Spain and finally advanced the knowledge of architecture through their in-depth analysis and accounting of a major Islamic structure.[68] The tremendous energy and determination exhibited by Jones and Goury, coupled with their experience and observations of Islamic architecture throughout the Middle East, enabled them to conduct an informed study of the Alhambra. Within six months, they produced measured drawings, paper tracings, and plaster casts, recording in infinite detail the plans and patterns of this uniquely surviving medieval palace. Their effort was terminated in August, 1834, by Goury's death from cholera. Jones left Spain to visit his deceased friend's family in France and then continued on to England. He arrived there equipped with the educational benefits and experience of his travels, plus his earlier studies, as the foundation for the bold architectural theory and practice he would contribute to nineteenth century English architecture.

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[68]Sweetman, p. 125.

CHAPTER II

ANALYZING ARCHITECTURE:

"THE PRINCIPLES DISCOVERABLE IN THE WORKS OF THE PAST BELONG TO US; NOT SO THE RESULTS. IT IS TAKING THE END FOR THE MEANS."[69]

In *The Rise of Architectural History,* Professor David Watkin describes "the rich world of architectural publishing and debate" which existed in England in the 1830s. He notes the early contributions to the study of architectural history made during this period by writers such as William Whewell and Robert Willis, but believes that architectural studies at the time lacked "stylistic analysis" and the perception of architectural history as cultural history. He attributes this last omission to "the attempt which both he [Willis] and Whewell made, in a polemical age, to keep religion out of architecture."[70]

Before the age of thirty, Owen Jones became a major contributor to this "rich world of architectural debate,"[71] providing thorough research and stylistic analysis significant to understanding the construction and decoration of past architectural styles. He introduced issues and concepts important to the debates on architecture for the remainder of the century. His first public lecture established the missing link between cultural beliefs and architecture and emphasized the effect of religious

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[69]Owen Jones, "Proposition 36," *The Grammar of Ornament,* 1868 Edition, p. 8.
[70]David Watkin, *The Rise of Architectural History,* The Architectural Press, London, 1980, p. 64-69.
[71]*Ibid.*

belief upon the customs and buildings of each society. In this lecture, entitled "On the Influence of Religion Upon Art,"[72] Jones discussed the beliefs and motivations of the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Christians, and Mohammedans, substantiating an equivalence between the level of art and architecture produced by each of these groups with the level of their religious commitment.[73] Further, he maintained that the ideology or religious institutions, "aided by the climate and peculiar customs and manners of the several people, produced a series of styles of architecture which have either totally varied from, or formed a connecting link with, those which had preceded them, in proportion as the religion of the one was inspired by, or more or less removed in its doctrines, from those of the other."[74]

He explained that an examination of the monuments of Egypt demonstrated the "full force of the influence of religion upon them...everything is symbolical and historical; the most simple of the numerous ornaments which decorate every corner of these buildings, and which appear only placed to fascinate the eye, are found upon closer examination to contain historical facts, dates, or religious injunctions to the faithful."[75] He described the walls of the temples as being "covered, internally and externally, with bas-reliefs, richly coloured, relating to or explanatory of the Egyptian divinities of every order, their supposed genealogy and history;...their different functions and attributes, their various religious ceremonies, with all the instruments of worship."[76] The more public portions of "these most extraordinary of temples" contained "the complete history of the kings of the country and the details

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[72]Delivered to the Architectural Society on December 1, 1835, "*ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY,*" *Gentleman's Magazine,* v. 5, Jan. 1836, p. 75.

[73]"...it will be observed that they have each possessed religious institutions which have been coeval with their formation, and have vanished with their decline;" Owen Jones, *Lectures on Architecture and the Decorative Arts,* Printed for Private Circulation, 1863, p. 3.

[74]*Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

[75]*Ibid.*, p. 5.

[76]*Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

of the most remarkable events of its flourishing times"[77] and the tombs of private individuals chronicled "a complete history of the arts, sciences, and commerce" of the Egyptians.[78] The absence of any remains of the private dwellings of the ancient Egyptians offered proof to Jones that "the whole power, wealth, and art of the community" was concentrated upon the erection of temples for their gods, palaces for their kings, and tombs for their dead.[79]

Jones believed that the arts of Egypt were transplanted to Greece where they continued to flourish, but in a modified form. He explained that the Egyptian religion had originally been purely spiritual and mystic, based upon the worship of "all animated nature, the air, the stars, the sun, the moon...represented by certain forms of men and animals," and over time, "they passed from the adoration of the thing signified to the thing itself."[80] As a result, the "religion of the Greeks was purely material: so also was their architecture. 'Feelingly alive to all the bounteous gifts of nature, they embodied them in their art.' Conceiving gods in the image of men, they made men like gods."[81] Although the most characteristic features of Greek architecture had existed in Egypt long before Greece had arisen from a primitive state, the different topography of Greece inspired alterations in building. "In Egypt, where Nature had shown her solemn grandeurs under forms more calm, the mind of man was enabled to expand and make up for the absence of the *grandiose* in Nature's works by the buildings which he raised upon her soil. Not so in Greece. There the grander features of Nature's countenance awed man into respect for her wondrous charms, which, however, by his fertile genius he was able to make use of, but could not rival."[82]

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[77]*Ibid.*, p. 6.
[78]*Ibid.*
[79]*Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
[80]*Ibid.*, p. 14.
[81]*Ibid.*
[82]*Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

With the Romans, the transformed Egyptian faith withered; the outward forms and ceremonies of worship remained, and temples were built "upon a grander and more extravagant scale," but the inner faith was lost.[83] Jones explained that:

> Having attained an almost boundless power on the earth, they began to set themselves up as gods, to the neglect of those which had been handed down to them by their forefathers. The real religion of the Romans, or tie which bound all men together, moving sympathetically around one centre, was glory, conquest, luxury. Hence the monuments which the Romans have handed down to us, as the true chronicle of their times, are the Coliseum, the baths, theatres, palaces, triumphal arches,--these, and these only, can lay claim to originality and invention.[84]

The Egyptian religion died and a new faith, the Christian religion emerged. This new faith "as unlike any of the preceding ones as it was superior to them, produced *an art* equally distinct."[85] In the warmer climates, however, traces of Paganism could be detected in the architecture since the Christians occupied many of the earlier temples and basilicas of the heathens and their influence remained. This was not the case in the north, where the Christian did not have evidence of works of earlier times to study, so he devoutly studied the character of God and "inspired solely by the feelings of spiritualism of which that worship was composed, produced an art which has little to fear in comparison with any that had appeared before it."[86]

At the same time, "the nations of the East rallied round the standard of a supposed prophet who carried them back under other forms to the materialism of their forefathers."[87] The doctrines and faith of this new religion "resembled in many instances that of the Christian: so did also its architecture. Thus they both

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[83] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[86] *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.
[87] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

worshipped one God; both had a dread of idolatry;"[88] and both shared the anomaly of using buildings of the people they conquered for worship; consequently, when they erected new places for worship, these structures were influenced by those buildings already adapted to the new faith. As a result, Jones concluded that just:

> as in the Christian religion we look for the art which she inspired in the countries of the North, and not in Italy, where she first found footing in Europe; so we must not look for that of Mahomet in Constantinople, but in countries where the Arabs, not finding the Byzantine churches ready to their hands, were left to the full play of their imaginations, and produced the most fanciful and voluptuous of all kinds of art, as well as the most faithful to their religious principles.[89]

After developing this argument, Jones took another bold step by attacking the prevailing condition of architecture in England. He demonstrated his criticisms with a series of contrasts which compared the positive attributes of earlier buildings with the negative qualities of contemporary productions. He asserted that the Reformation, by "Destroying the unity of the Christian religion, creating almost as many different sects and divisions as there are individual followers of Christ,...destroyed for ever that unity of action of faith, now called superstition, which caused our forefathers to erect such splendid piles," and severed for ever the tie between religion and art.[90] As a result, he concluded that the use of "emblems of sacrifices from Grecian altars and monuments erected by a Pagan" and the indifference to architectural consistency among Protestants was understandable, but, at the same time, created a situation which forced him to discard the possibility that Protestant architecture could furnish any meaningful representation of contemporary life.[91] Many contemporaries of Jones, including A. W. N. Pugin,

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[88] *Ibid.*

[89] *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[91] Although the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed in 1829, England remained a "strongly Protestant nation," even into the 1850s. See: G.M. Trevelyan, p. 54.

Victor Hugo, and John Ruskin, also criticized the Reformation for destroying the unity of the Christian religion.

Jones believed that Commerce and Industry had become the dominant forces in society instead of religion, and that, since these forces were "Void of poesy, of feeling, or of faith, they have abandoned Art for her bolder sister Science."[92] Consequently, "the great works of the age are the result of *science* only" and architects would have to connect themselves more closely with science if they wanted "to receive knowledge and afford art." To illustrate this point, he described the attitude toward the utilization of cast-iron as a typical example of the dilemma prevailing architectural thinking and practice, saying:

> the use of cast-iron in buildings is constantly applied with science, but never with art. We seem ashamed of the material employed; it must be cased, made to represent what it is not...Every other architecture has always endeavoured to be most scrupulously true; and its changes have been almost as much influenced in the different countries by the materials which could be procured, as by religion itself. Why, then, should we refuse to recognise the great change which reveals itself in architecture, by the employment of materials hitherto unknown?
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> It is quite evident, that if we resist the indolent temptation of imitating the genius of others, invention must result.[93]

Jones wanted to advance the state of architecture in a period which he believed lacked a true understanding of its meaning. To him, the culture of a civilization was read in the monuments it erected, and he felt that his age, suffering from the divorce between science and art, was producing a legacy of artless feats by engineers and irrelevant works by architects. His solution was to strengthen the knowledge and role of the architect and sensitize him to the needs, feelings, and occupations of the society in order to achieve appropriate structures capable of contributing to both the facility and civility of contemporary culture. These insights, communicated

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[92]Jones, *Lectures on Architecture*, p. 22.
[93]*Ibid.*, pp. 22-24.

powerfully and simply, predate the treatises of the other major British nineteenth-century theorists, Pugin and Ruskin, and constitute an important step in the development of architectural theory.[94]

In differentiating the characteristics of early nineteenth-century Britain from from preceding periods and defining the "Spirit of the Age" in terms of contemporary mechanization and the inadequacy of organized religion to provide a unifying spirituality, Jones shared the concerns and thinking expressed in the contempory philosophical inquiries and writings of Fichte, Hazlitt, Carlyle, and Mill.[95] For example, Thomas Carlyle's article "Signs of the Times," which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1829, rejected the doomsdayers who criticized the Age of Machinery in which they lived and projected a better future based upon mechanization used to improve the human condition. Further, in *Sartor Resartus*, printed in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1833-4, Carlyle established a metaphor using clothes as a symbol of man's inner spiritual reality, but recognized that this suit of clothes turned into a sham when spirituality and traditions were either absent or outmoded. The casting off of old, out-worn clothes and the constant weaving of a new set of clothes, based upon new ideas and experiences, can easily be transferred to the need to create an architecture appropriate to the time.[96]

Like Jones, A.W.N. Pugin (1812-1852) was intrigued with comparisons of prevailing practice and past styles. In 1832, he produced a drawing of three house

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[94]These remarks also foreshadow the time and energy Jones devoted to the development of the profession and the improvement of architectural education.

[95]Fichte, *Characteristics of the Present Age* (1806); Hazlitt, *Spirit of the Age* (1825), Carlyle's "signs of the Times" and "Characteristics", and Mill's "Spirit of the Age", published between 1829 and 1831. A. Dwight Culler, *The Victorian Mirror of History*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1985, p. 39.

[96]Culler, pp. 39-66; David Morse, *High Victorian Culture*, NY University Press, 1993; John Merz, *A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. IV, Gloucerster, MA, Peter Smith, 1976, pp. 97, 124, 527; *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, ed. by Margaret Drabble, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1985, pp. 170-171, 866-867; Walter L. Arnstein, *Britain Yesterday and Today: 1830 to the Present* (1976), reprint Lexington, MA, D.C. Heath, 1983, pp. 33, 89, 365. I am grateful to Rob Craig for the Carlyle reference.

facades, applying the dates 1470 and 1532 to the first two houses and labelling the third, a less satisfactory composition, 1832. In August 1835, he began preparing a book following this theme which he would call *Contrasts*,[97] but put this effort aside to take on work for Charles Barry and Gillespie Graham.[98] As a result, he was in London the evening of Jones's lecture and may have been in the audience. Phoebe Stanton, Pugin biographer, indicates that he returned to Salisbury on December fifth and had *Contrasts* on his mind as he tackled pressing commitments; finally, he fired off an unsolicited manuscript in January which "must have been close to the text which ultimately appeared as *Contrasts*." The drawings for this polemic were executed between February 23 and March 5 and the text was finalized between May 2 and May 30.[99] Despite the interlude, this text seems to respond to the remarks made by Jones in the lecture delivered to the Architectural Society.

In that lecture, Jones emphasized that the architecture of the Egyptians was "fully capable of handing down to posterity a complete chronicle of the manners, customs, and *feelings* of a people" and found this practice in marked contrast to the "inexpressive styles" prevailing in contemporary English architecture.[100] Pugin repeated the idea of the importance of feelings as a generator of architectural form in the title of his first chapter: "On the Feelings which Produced the Great Edifices of the Middle Ages." He also agreed that there had been a decline in architecture during the last three centuries and said that the causes of this "mighty change" would form the subject of his text. He continued by proposing "that the great test of Architectural beauty is the fitness of the design to the purpose for which it is intended, and that the style of a building should so correspond with its use that the

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[97] *CONTRASTS: or, a Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day,* 1836.
[98] Phoebe Stanton, "The Sources of Pugin's *Contrasts*," *Concerning Architecture*, London, Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1968, p. 120.
[99] *Ibid.*
[100] *Ibid.*

spectator may at once perceive the purpose for which it was erected." This concept parallels Jones's censure of the contemporary practice of appropriating the temple form as the style for a "Christian church, a theatre of pleasure, or an hospital for the sick."[101] Pugin repeats another position expressed by Jones, saying that the "different nations have given birth to so many various styles of Architecture, each suited to their climate, customs, and religion; and as it is among edifices of this latter class that we look for the most splendid and lasting monuments, there can be little doubt that the religious ideas and ceremonies of these different people had by far the greatest influence in the formation of their various styles of Architecture." He continues to reflect the ideas of Jones by affirming that the elements used by the Egyptians "were not mere fanciful Architectural combinations and ornaments, but emblems of the philosophy and mythology of that nation" and expands this idea of "Architecture resulting from religious belief" to embrace all societies.[102]

Both men also extolled the superiority of Christianity and praised the buildings it inspired during the medieval period. Jones explained that

> The Christian religion, as unlike any of the preceding ones as it was superior to them, produced *an art* equally distinct...in the colder climates of the north, beyond the circle of the influence of Paganism...the Christian, devoutly studying the character of the God, a temple to whose worship he was about to raise, inspired solely by the feelings of spiritualism of which that worship was composed, produced an art which has little to fear in comparison with any that had appeared before it.[103]

Pugin echoed and expanded these thoughts providing a detailed explanation of how Pointed or Christian Architecture embodied "*the faith of Christianity*" and produced sacred buildings where all of the elements conspired "to fill the mind with veneration, and to impress it with the sublimity of Christian worship." He explained that:

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[101] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[102] *Contrasts*, pp. 1-2.
[103] Jones, "Influence," p. 16.

> Such effects as these can only be produced on the mind by buildings, the composition of which emanated from men who were thoroughly embued with devotion for, and faith in, the religion for whose worship they were erected.
>
> Their whole energies were directed towards attaining excellence; they were actuated by far nobler motives than the hopes of pecuniary reward, or even the applause and admiration of mankind. They felt they were engaged in one of the most glorious occupations that can fall to the lot of man--that of raising a temple to the worship of the true and living God.
>
> It was this feeling that operated alike on the master-mind that planned the edifice, and on the patient sculptor whose chisel wrought each varied and beautiful detail. It was this feeling that enabled the ancient masons, in spite of labour, danger, and difficulties, to persevere till they had raised their gigantic spires into the very regions of the clouds. It was this feeling that induced the ecclesiastics of old to devote their revenues to pious purpose, and to labour with their own hands in the accomplishment of the work; and it is a feeling that may be traced throughout the whole of the numerous edifices of the middle ages, and which, amidst the great variety of genius which their varied decorations display, still bespeaks the unity of purpose which influenced their builders and artists.
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> They borrowed their ideas from no heathen rites, nor sought for decorations from the idolatrous emblems of a strange people. The foundation and progress of the Christian faith, and the sacraments and ceremonies of the church formed an ample and noble field for the exercise of their talents; and it is an incontrovertible fact, that every class of artists, who flourished during these glorious periods, selected their subjects from this inexhaustible source, and devoted their greatest efforts towards the embellishment of ecclesiastical edifices.
>
> Yes, it was, indeed, the faith, the zeal, and above all, the unity, of our ancestors, that enabled them to conceive and raise those wonderful fabrics that still remain to excite our wonder and admiration.[104]

Additional evidence of Pugin's awareness of Jones's text is revealed in the way both men allude to the contemporary practice of disparaging Christian faith as "superstition." Jones refers to pre-Reformation belief as "that unity of action of faith, now called superstition, which caused our forefathers to erect such splendid piles"[105] and Pugin notes that he is "well aware that modern writers have attributed the numerous churches erected during the middle ages to the effects of

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[104] *Contrasts*, pp. 5-6.

[105] Jones, *Influence of Religion...*, pp. 19-20,

superstition."[106] Numerous examples, like this, of analogous terminology and logic, abound in these two works; what separates them is Jones's decision to defer from developing a discussion of gothic architecture, which he explains by saying that the "sympathy which exists between the Gothic cathedral and the Christian religion" was "too powerfully felt by all to need comment." Pugin's text, on the other hand, focuses on and elucidates the symbolism found in the plans, structure, and decoration of medieval buildings.

Professor Stanton notes that Pugin's "text seems to have been secondary to the trenchant message of the illustrations...and seems weak only because of the strength and assertiveness of the plates."[107] There can be no doubt that the plates are more acerbic than the text and that both exceed the criticism expressed by Jones. Pugin's illustrations attacked the work of specific architects and society as a whole. Where Jones scolded his countrymen for building churches "with every attention paid to the comforts of the creature and so little to the glory of the Creator in whose dwelling-place he is supposed to be,"[108] Pugin juxtaposed images of the Inwoods' St. Mary Somerstown with Bishop Skirlaw's Chapel at Skirlaugh to demonstrate the paucity of modern buildings in relation to those raised four centuries earlier. Pugin castigated other architects in a frontispiece called 'Selection from the works of various celebrated British Architects'; this page included Wilkin's National Gallery, Nash's All Souls, Langham Place, Sir Robert Smirke's first Carlton Club, and other contemporary structures. Pugin followed this censure with a second frontispiece in the format of an advertisement 'dedicated without permission to The Trade,' thus, reducing the fledgling profession to trade status, rather a brazen allegation for someone who had only built one building: his own house. It is not surprising that no

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[106]Jones, *Influence of Religion...*, p. 20, and Pugin, *Contrasts*, p. 6.
[107]Stanton, *Pugin*, p. 25-26.
[108]Jones, "Influence," p. 21.

publisher was interested in producing this acrimonious attack on the profession and modern society. As a result, Pugin produced the book himself in August, 1836. Sales quickly exceeded his expectations, but, more important, *Contrasts* brought him immediate notoriety.[109] Reviews ranged from praise for his 'pungency and wit' and 'boldness and freedom' to charges that his work was the outpouring of a 'fearfully diseased mind' and one who was guilty of 'Jesuitically distorting facts.'[110]

In 1837, he responded to his derogators with *An Apology for a work entitled "Contrasts;" being a defense of the assertions advanced in that publication, against the various attacks lately made upon it."*[111] This text proffered ideas more extreme than those expressed in the earlier publication. For example, in the *Apology,* Pugin announces that a "return to the ancient faith is the only means by which a restoration of the long lost feelings for art of every description can be achieved" and pronounces the following propositions:

1st. THAT EVERYTHING GRAND, EDIFYING, AND NOBLE IN ART IS THE RESULT OF FEELINGS PRODUCED BY THE CATHOLIC RELIGION ON THE HUMAN MIND.

2nd. THAT DESTRUCTION OF ART, IRREVERENCE TOWARDS RELIGION, CONTEMPT OF ECCLESIASTICAL PERSONS AND AUTHORITY, AND A COMPLETE LOSS OF ALL THE NOBLER PERCEPTIONS OF MANKIND, HAVE BEEN THE RESULT OF PROTESTANTISM, WHEREVER IT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED.

3rd. THAT THE DEGRADED STATE OF THE ARTS IN THIS COUNTRY IS PURELY OWING TO THE ABSENCE OF CATHOLIC FEELING AMONG ITS PROFESSORS, THE LOSS OF ECCLESIASTICAL PATRONAGE, AND THE APATHY WITH WHICH A PROTESTANT

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[109]In a letter written in June, 1838, he reported that he had 'never calculated on a sale of more that 400 but it has been nearly doubled -- and I have thought right to supply a great part of the Clergy with copies free of charge so that in fact nearly 1000 whill [sic] have been struck off". Margaret Belcher, "Pugin Writing," *Pugin*, ed. by Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1994, p. 105.

[110]Belcher, p. 105.

[111]"Printed for the author by R.P. Stone & Son, Birmingham."

NATION MUST NECESSARILY TREAT THE HIGHER BRANCHES OF ART.[112]

Although his ideas continued to concur with those expressed by Jones with statements such as "architecture is a noble science, resulting from moral principles, and that there is a forcible association between all works of genius and religion," he differs from Jones in statements indicating that "It is the broad principle of erecting the most glorious temples to the worship of God, and consecrating the highest efforts of art to his honour, for which I am contending. These are feelings which I assert belong exclusively to Catholicism, and they have entirely disappeared wherever Protestantism has been established..."[113]

While the austerity and controversy of Pugin's argument drew the attention of the profession, the public, and the clergy, Jones's remarks were known only within the architectural community.[114] He won the respect of many of his colleagues, however, through his historical analysis, his acceptance of new materials, and his promotion of a new style of architecture. Professor Donaldson opened the first meeting of the Architectural Association on October 8, 1847, discussing the future of architecture and stating that according to "Mr. Owen Jones - a new style was just around the corner."[115] Today, some scholars distinguish Jones as a "bold spirit" who "prophesied that a new architectural style would emerge from the rational use of new materials,"[116] but, until now, his perception of culture as the genesis for architecture has not been widely known.

Over a decade after Jones first proposed a new style, John Ruskin (1819-1900) printed his own polemic and principles maintaining that "we want no new style of

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[112]Pugin, *An Apology*, p. 4.
[113]*Ibid.*, p. 7.
[114]Jones, "The Influence of Religion on Art," *Lectures on Architecture.*
[115]John Summerson, *The Architectural Association, 1847-1947*, London, Architectural Association, Pleiades Books, Ltd., 1947, p. 6.
[116]Wilton-Ely, *The Architect*, pp. 200-202.

architecture."[117] The fact that Ruskin's most influential architectural writings, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and *The Stones of Venice* (1853), continued to argue the concepts and issues initiated by Jones in 1835 emphasizes the criticality and perception of Jones's ideas. Ruskin did not attack Jones by name, but assaulted the principles and ideas proposed by Jones and attempted to refute them with his own theory. He began *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* by trying to show himself of equal knowledge and stature, saying:

> the following chapters pretend only to be a statement of principles...I could as fully, though not with the accuracy and certainty derived from personal observation, have illustrated the principles subsequently advanced, from the architecture of Egypt, India, or Spain, as from that to which the reader will find his attention chiefly directed, the Italian Romanesque and Gothic.[118]

His text supports the association between culture and architecture established by Jones, but presents the idea as his own, when he proclaims that: "every form of noble architecture is in some sort the embodiment of the Polity, Life, History, and Religious Faith of nations" and that "every age had its own unique vision and art corresponding to its peculiar ethical and social life."[119] He refuses to see, however, that the acceptance of the architecture-culture link logically suggests a new style for the nineteenth century; instead, he recommends a return to the Pisan Romanesque, the early Gothic of the Western Italian Republics (pre-Giotto), the Venetian Gothic in its' "purest development," and the "English earliest decorated" as appropriate.[120]

Part of his argument centered on his rejection of the use of iron as structural support in architecture. He maintained that the sense of proportion and the laws of structure had been based upon the use of stone, clay, and wood "and that the entire

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[117]Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps*, p. 191.
[118] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[119]Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, quoted in Stephen F. Eisenman, *Nineteenth Century Art: A Critical Theory*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1994, pp. 11-12.
[120]Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, p. 197.

or principal employment of metallic framework would, therefore, be generally felt as a departure from the first principles of the art."[121] Jones had argued, on the other hand, that the Greeks would have used modern materials if they had possessed them; Ruskin remained resolute, however, only conceding that a limited amount of metal could be "used as a *cement* but not as a *support.*"[122] This whole line of reasoning can also be challenged on the basis that Ruskin's definition of architecture had nothing to do with materials or structure. He had defined architecture as "the art which so disposes and adorns the edifices raised by man for whatsoever uses, that the sight of them contributes to his mental health, power and pleasure"[123] and warned against "extending principles which belong altogether to building, into the sphere of architecture proper" since architecture "impresses on its form certain characters venerable or beautiful, but otherwise unnecessary."[124]

He also denounced the "perpetual, empty, idle incomparably idiotic talk about the necessity of some novelty in architecture"[125] with the argument that neither originality or change should be sought in themselves, concluding that "The forms of architecture already known are good enough for us...and it will be time enough to think of changing them for better when we can use them as they are."[126] In this same vein, he indirectly attacks Jones and the schools of design, scoffing "We shall not manufacture art out of pottery and printed stuffs; we shall not reason out art by our philosophy; we shall not stumble upon art by our experiments, not create it by our fancies: I do not say that we can even build it out of brick and stone; but there is

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[121] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[122] *Ibid.*, p. 45.
[123] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[124] *Ibid.*
[125] Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice.*
[126] *Ruskin, The Seven Lamps,* p. 194. Note: Gombrich points out the obvious contradiction here as Ruskin attacks the Schools of Design for doing exactly what he is trying to do: "reason out art by our philosophy." Gombrich, *The Sense of Order,* p. 39.

a chance for us in these."[127] And finally, he refutes Jones's polemic by insisting that the architect should associate himself with the sculptor, not the engineer.

"The Influence of Religion Upon Art" introduced another subject central to the theories of both Jones and Ruskin and another point of major contention: architectural ornament. Jones presented the topic as part of his explanation of Islamic architecture. He noted that although the Mahomedans were

> Forbidden by their creed to introduce in any way representations of the human form, the law did not apply to the other offsprings of nature. Whilst in Egypt, besides the figure, we find representations of the whole animal and vegetable world--in Greece, the acanthus, and among the Christians the oak-leaf and the vine--we find the temples of the Arabs decorated throughout as none others have been, unaided by the productions of nature, which they have copied, if at all, in a manner so distant, so changed by the fertility of their imagination, that we are quite at a loss to discover the traces of the originals.[128]

Jones continues with ideas that may stem from his association with Semper and Goury, explaining that

> It would seem rather that the Arabs, changing their wandering for a settled life, *in striking the tent to plant it in a form more solid,* had transferred the luxurious shawls and hangings of Cashmere, which had adorned their former dwellings, to their new; changing the tent-pole for a marble column, and the silken tissue for gilded plaster: whilst in their temples the doctrine of the Koran, written on every side, proclaiming the power of God, and impressing upon the believer respect for the laws and the love of virtue, produced a species of decoration as original as it was magical in effect.[129]

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[127] *The Seven Lamps,*, p. 195.

[128] Jones, "The Influence of Religion," pp. 16-18.

[129] *Ibid.*, p. 18. Much later, Jones received praise for his successful and frequent use of gilded plaster, while Ruskin would remark that "I think gold was meant to be seldom seen and to be admired as a precious thing; and I sometimes wish that truth should so far literally prevail as that all should be gold that glittered, or rather that nothing should glitter that was not gold...it should be used with respect, and to express magnificence, or sacredness, and not in lavish vanity, or in sign painting." Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps,* p. 53.

Later, Ruskin dismissed Islamic architecture as "impure" and attacked Arabic ornament for being mere line;[130] but Jones remained steadfast in admiring and conveying the forms and aesthetic of Islamic architecture.

In fact, his first major publication developed the ideas expressed in the lecture to the Architectural Society within the context of examining the effect of Islamic beliefs and practices on the palace of Granada.[131] This text, entitled *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra* (1836-1845), significantly advanced architectural study by introducing the precise structural and stylistic analyses which Professor Watkin has found missing from earlier investigations. This extraordinary work also made major contributions to other topics of current concern, such as polychromy in ancient architecture, by demonstrating the past and present coloration of the palace in an unprecedented number of chromolithographed plates. The quality and quantity of these images revolutionized English publication, for Jones utilized a technique capable of reproducing colored images more efficiently than conventional publishing processes.[132]

Prior to this publication, other developments had generated a demand for books to instruct architects in the history of buildings and in design.[133] These included improvements in printing, a consciousness of the limitations in professional preparation, and a growing fascination with studies of antiquity. Jones would have been aware of this exigency before leaving England and would have been familiar with contemporary publications such as John Carter's *The Progress of*

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[130]*Ibid.*, p. 7.

[131]The title page of this text reads: *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra: from drawings taken on the spot in 1834 by the late M. Jules Goury and in 1834 and 1837 by Owen Jones, Archt. with a complete translation of the Arabic inscriptions, and an Historical Notice of the Kings of Granada, from the Conquest of that City by the Arabs to the Expulsion of the Moors, by Mr. Pasqual de Gayangos.*

[132]Darby describes Jones's effort as "not only the most influential book on Islamic architecture and decoration to appear in this country [England], but the establishment of colour printing as a new industry." See, *Islamic Perspective*, p. 46.

[133]Leonardo Benevolo, *History of Modern Architecture*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, 1984, p. 86, and "Review of New Publications" *Gentleman's Magazine*, Jan. 1830, p. 33.

Architecture,[134] John Britton's *Dictionary of the Architecture and Archaeology of the Middles Ages*,[135] and Joseph Gwilt's *Treatise on the Equilibrium of Arches* (1827). He would have known too that Cockerell, Kinnard, Donaldson, and others had prepared a fourth volume to the *Antiquities of Athens* presenting Grecian monuments not included, or incorrectly portrayed, in the original work by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett.[136] In fact, Jones's library contained a copy of this text, plus the cited works by Gwilt and Britton, and although it is not certain that he bought these texts immediately upon publication, the young architect's serious approach to scholarship suggests that he would have obtained some of the books in his library with publications dates prior to 1831 at the beginning of his studies.

A survey of these early books in Jones's library can be grouped into texts concerning theory and practice, antique manuscripts, and books depicting the landscape and architecture of specific places. The books on theory and practice range from the expected texts by Vitruvius, Palladio, Gibbs, and Chambers[137] to contemporary works by Soane, Cottingham, Nash, and A. C. Pugin,[138] all

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[134]John Carter's *The Progress of Architecture, illustrated in a Series of Drawings taken from existing Remains in South Wales, with Examples of Arches showing the rise and progress of the Pointed Arch* (Full title) discussed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, v. 100, September, 1830, 237.

[135]John Britton's *Dictionary of the Architecture and Archaeology of the Middle Ages; including the Words used by old and modern Authors in treating of Architectural and other Antquities; with Etymology, Definition, Description, and historical Elucidation* (full title) discussed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, v.100, Oct. 1830, pp. 348-9.

[136]C. R. Cockerell, W. Kinnard, T.L. Donaldson, W. Jenkins, and W. Railton produced the *Antiquities of Athens and other Places in Greece, Sicily, etc. Supplementary to the Antiquities of Athens* (1830). *Gentleman's Magazine*, v. 100, April, 1830, p. 323.

[137]*Vitruvius, Treatise on Architecture*, translated by J. Gwilt (1826), Ware's translation of *Palladio's Architecture* (1737), James Gibbs's *Architecture* (1728), and Sir William Chambers's *Treatise on Civil Architecture, with Notes, &c.* by J. Gwilt (1825).

[138]Sir John Soane, *Designs for Public Improvements in London and Westminster* (1828) and *Designs for Public and Private Buildings* (1828); L.N. Cottingham, *Geometrical Elevation of the Principal Entrance to Westminster Hall* (1822); John Nash, *Views illustrative of Pugin's Examples of Gothic Architecture, with descriptions by W. H. Leeds* (1830); A. C. Pugin and J. Le Keux, *Specimens of the Architectural Antiquities of Normandy* (1827), and A.C. Pugin's *Examples of Gothic Architecture* (1830), *Gothic Ornaments* (1831), *Paris and its Environs* (1831), and *Ornamental Gables* (1831).

appropriate for a student. Less to the point are the antique manuscripts which feature a 1521 edition of *Plutarchi Vitae* and a 1573 copy of Boccacci's *Il Decameron*. The final category, considered essential to both students and practitioners, presents images of architecture in Great Britain, Ireland, France, Italy, and Germany, plus books on Spain, Asia, and the Middle East.

This last group is of particular interest since it contains J.M. Perez's *Paseos por Granada - y sus Contornos* (1814), P. Coste's *Architecture Arabe* (1819), and James Cavanaugh Murphy's *History of the Mahometan Empire in Spain* (1816) and his *Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (1813). Although all of these works included material on the Alhambra, none of them presented a comprehensive study of the palace's architecture. For example, Michael Darby cites the publication of Murphy's *Arabian Antiquities* [Figures 9 - 11] as the first important study of Islamic architecture to be produced in England, but explains that "Almost from the outset, the book was much criticised for its inaccuracy." He says that "Richard Ford in his excellent *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1845), described Murphy's plates as 'badly copied' from the *Antiguedades Arabes*, a volume of architectural drawings published by the Spaniards themselves in about 1787." Ford continued his criticism saying that 'it is difficult to believe that Murphy was ever on the spot...the plates are beneath criticism for their gross inaccuracy.' Darby also cites the esteemed architect and friend of Jones, Matthew Digby Wyatt, as referring to Murphy's drawings as 'sadly incorrect.'[139]

Some of these inaccuracies involve incorrect place names, such as the Court of the Fish-Pond referred to as the Court of Water, misappropriations of titles and

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[139]Michael Darby explains that Murphy "died on 12 September 1814 when only a portion of the book was complete, and the *Arabian Antiquities* was published posthumously, the last part appearing on 1 June 1815. Murphy's friend T. Hartwell Horne, the antiquary and part author of Finden's *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible* (1836), supervised the completion of the work, and with John Shakespear and John Gillies wrote a *History of the Mahometan Empire* which was designed as an introduction, but was published separately in 1816." Darby, *Islamic Perspective,* p. 18-19.

functions evidenced in Murphy's incorrect identification of the rooms and functions of the Baths, and his incomplete or incorrect identification of materials.[140] An example of this last instance occurs when he states that the Gate of Justice (which he calls the Gate of Judgment) is made of marble, when, in fact, the gate tower "is built of concrete, with jaumbs of the doorway being, however, in white marble and the elegant horseshoe arch and spandrils, of brick."[141] Superficial treatment of the Alhambra's architecture was not confined to Murphy, however, since most artists and writers treated the palace as a picturesque element within a romantic landscape. The illustrations of John Frederick Lewis in the *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra* (1835) and *Sketches of Spain and the Spanish Character* (1836) are typical [Figures 12 and 13]; Michael Darby describes these as "rococo" works which accentuate "every crack and sagging beam, and every weed and crumbling stone."[142] These illustrations complement the romantic literature which comprised most of the information about the Alhambra. The musings of poets and records of travellers stressed the exoticism of the palace, emphasizing a place of rare beauty and an "other worldly" atmosphere. The opportunity to produce the definitive architectural text on this popular and intriguing building, cited by J. N. L. Durand in *Précis des leçons d'architecture données à l'Ecole Polytechnique* (1823) and Seroux D'Agincourt in *The History of Art by Its Monuments* (1814), must have been compelling motives for the young architect and his companion.[143]

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[140]James Cavanaugh Murphy, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, reprint of the original by TRI Publishing, Zurich,, Switzerland, 1982. I am indebted to Professor Ronald B. Lewcock, Ph.D., for loaning me his copy of this text.

[141]Description accompanying Plate II, Jones, *...the Alhambra.*

[142]Darby,Dissertation, p. 45.

[143]Goury would have been interested in publishing polychromatic drawings of the palace as well. In Die vieer Elemente der Baukunst (1851), a note translated from page three gives these remarks about Goury's polychromatic work by Gottfried Semper: "The portfolio of this excellent artist, strong in mind and body, whose energy and activity was equal to his talent, must contain the most complete and most reliable collection on Polychromy that exists." Private papers of Michael Darby now in author's possession.

Islamic buildings were relatively unstudied by English architects since infidels were denied access to places of religious devotion and few practitioners had journeyed to the Middle East. Those who had, dismissed the architecture as insignificant.[144] They saw originality only in the secondary structures like kiosks and fountains and, consequently, produced no academic investigations of the buildings they visited. Instead, they produced picturesque drawings and watercolors contrasting the imposing ancient monuments of the Arabs with their dwarfed, modern encampments. Jones produced some of these compositions, but went beyond the efforts of other artists and architects to analyze the buildings he found and interpret the motivations and techniques of their builders.[145] His extensive observations of Islamic structures covered a vast geographic area enabling him to compare the palace of the Moors in Spain with edifices in Egypt and Turkey.

Despite the heightened interest in the Alhambra, the young architect failed to find a publisher for his work. The reason for this difficulty lay in his desire for colored illustrations.[146] While some magnificent books, such as *Oriental Scenery* (1795-1808) and the *Antiquities of India* (1799) by Thomas Daniell (1749-1840) and his nephew, William Daniell (1769-1837) featured beautiful aquatints, most publications were limited to one or two pictures treated with color;[147] for example, Barre' and Roux's eight volumes on *Herculanum et Pompei* (1839 and 1840) included only one tinted plate.[148] Colored illustrations were almost inaccessible since the processes required to produce them were slow, costly, and labor-intensive.[149] Each

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[144]Barry, Cockerell, Donaldson and others.

[145]V&A, British Museum.

[146]Darby dissertation, p. 42.

[147]Jones owned a copy of *Oriental Scenery* dated 1812. *Library of Owen Jones,* p. 10.

[148]The full title is *Herculanum et Pompéi: Recueil général des peintures, bronzes, mosaïques, etc.,* Middleton, *The Beaux-Arts,* p. 186.

[149]An example of the prohibitive cost of books with colored illustrations is the 1808 publication price of two hundred ten pounds for the Daniell's *Oriental Scentery* (1795-1808) which contained 144 coloured aquatints. Mildred Archer, *Early Views of India*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1980, p. 234.

image had to be engraved on a copper plate or carved on a wood block, then the outline of the image was imprinted on paper, and that image was tinted or colored in by hand.[150] Experiments with multi-colored illustrations printed from lithographic plates had been conducted with some success in France, Germany, and England, but no London publisher was competent to render the volume and complexity of designs desired by Jones.[151]

Determined to produce his work with engravings and chromolithographed illustrations, the young architect assumed the publishing responsibility himself. He sought assistance from Day and Haghe, "The first house in London for pictorial lithography,"[152] and contracted with Henry Vizetelly to print the text and those images created on wood blocks. Finally, he leased and equipped rooms at 11 Adelphi and staffed the premises with ornamental draughtsmen and two experienced lithographic printers.[153] Vizetelly described the architect's effort as "years of

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[150]Thomas Sutton provides the following description of aquatinting:

> A highly polished copper-plate is coated with wax, which is then held in th smoke of a taper until the surface, having melted gently, is an even golden brown. Upon this the original subject is then drawn or traced in reverse, the pencil lines showing clearly against the now hardened wax. The highest lights are now 'stopped out' with an acid-resisting substance and the plate placed in a box containing thousands of tiny particles of powdered resin. Upon the turning of the handle, a current of air is created, causing the particles to rise and then settle like dust upon the waxed surface of the plate. This is now placed in a bath of acid, which bites into the plate where the dust has disturbed, however slightly, the wax. The plate is then removed, thoroughly rinsed, and the parts judged to have been sufficiently bitten are 'stopped out'. The process is repeated, the bitings become successively deeper, until the strongest darks are reached. The wax is then removed and the copper-plate is seen to be pitted everywhere by minute holes, except where 'stopping out' has been employed. The resultant print consists not of lines of varying depth or thickness, as in an etching or a copper-plate engraving, but of tones. *Ibid.*, p. 14. I am grateful to Professor Lewcock for bringing this book to my attention.

[151]Henry Vizetelly, *Glances Back Through Seventy Years,* London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1893, p. 200.

[152]Darby dissertation, pp. 52-53.

[153]Stuart Durant, *Ornament From the Industrial Revolution to Today,* Woodstock and New York, p. 140.

anxious toil, subject to constant and disheartening disappointments" which cost Jones "a small fortune."[154]

It is universally reported that the young architect was forced to sell his Welsh inheritance to finance the *Alhambra* publication, but this is not true.[155] While he may have sacrificed a substantial portion of his legacy, a letter written by one of his sisters explains that he still owned the Llanvihangel estate in Wales at the time of his death. On his demise, the property passed to his wife, Isabella (1817-1875), who died sixteen months later, leaving the property to her nephew, Charles Owen Thompson Wild. This nephew died on November 14, 1878; at that point, the Llanvihangel estate was sold to someone outside the Jones and Wild families, much to the distress of Jones's sisters.[156]

Although the first volume of *the Alhambra* was not complete until 1842, sections were distributed as they were finished, beginning with the release of Part I on April 11, 1836, and Parts 2 and 3 on December 15 of the same year. During 1837, the author returned to Spain to revise some of his earlier drawings and collect additional material. He said this trip was necessary to enable him to apply his increased knowledge of "lithochromatography"[157] to the palace.[158] The next four sections

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154 Vizetelly, p. 200. I am grateful to Robert Thorne for providing this reference and to Ronald Lewcock for locating the information.

155 Albert F. Calvert, *The Alhambra*, London, John Lane, 1906, p. viii.

156 Undated letter by Charlotte Jones, copy provided to Carol Flores by Geraint Phillips in correspondence dated July 6, 1995.

157 Jones uses Leo von Klenze's term indicating his knowledge of the German advocate of polychromy, Mignot, p. 84.

158 Darby , *Islamic Perspective,* p. 46 and dissertation, p. 46 includes the following quotation from the *Literary Gazette,* June 30, 1838: "Mr. Owen Jones, in apologising to his subscribers for the delay which has occurred in the publication of the present Numbers, begs to acquaint them that, since the appearance of Nos II and III., he has visited Spain, and passed several months at the Alhambra, revising the orignial drawings, and adding many new subjects: the increased knowledge which he had obtained of the means which might be employed to represent, by lithochromatography, the varied beauties of the Alhambra, having rendered this imperative upon him, ... Mr. Jones trusts that his subscribers will find, in the superiority which the present Numbers exhibit over the preceding, the evidence of the efforts which he has made to render this work worthy of the enlightened age in which it appears."

appeared in June 1838, Parts 8 and 9 followed in February 1840, and the final section was issued in July 1842 [Figure 14].[159] Volume Two [Figures 15-16], entitled *Details and Ornaments from the Alhambra*, was distributed in two parts in 1842 and 1845.[160]

Matthew Digby Wyatt summarized the chromolithographic process as follows:

> ...For the purposes of Lithography, the original drawing requires, in the first instance, to be carefully traced. It is then retraced, or transferred to the stone, by interposing between the surface of the latter and the drawing a sheet of thin paper, prepared on the side next the stone with red chalk. The lithographer then draws upon the stone with a greasy chalk or ink, as the case may be, the whole of the outline of the subject, and as much of the shading as he may think necessary. On the conclusion of this drawing in black and white, the stone is sent to the printer, who, after chemically preparing it for the operation, takes off carefully as many impressions as there are colours required to perfect the polychromy of the original drawing. These impressions on thin paper are laid, whilst yet moist, upon a corresponding number of colour stones, and passed through the lithographic press. By this means the outline of the first or key-stone is printed off upon each of the remaining stones of the series, and the artist is provided with an outline upon the latter, identical with that which existed upon the key-stone. Carefully analyzing the amount of each colour in the original drawing, and noting the points of its predominance,--where, in some cases, it is allowed to appear pure, and in others to enter only into the composition of broken tints,--the artist proceeds to indicate upon each stone, in black chalk or ink, the requisite amount for each separate colour. Great care is required to bear in mind the succession of these tints, and to make due allowance for it, since it is obvious that the last printed, by its greater or lesser degree of opacity, may tend to kill all that has been done before. Great attention is likewise required in order that, when the various stones are worked together, the filling in of one colour shall exactly meet the

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Ironically, Ruskin's explanation of the delay in completing the third volume of *Modern Painters* seems to copy or parody Jones. Ruskin maintains: "The inordinate delay in the appearance of that supplementary volume has, indeed, been chiefly owing to the necessity under which the writer felt himself, of obtaining as many memoranda as possible of medieval buildings in Italy and Normandy, now in process of destruction, before that destruction should be consummated by the Restorer or the Revolutionist. His whole time has been lately occupied in taking drawings from one side of buildings, of which masons were knocking down the other; nor can he yet pledge himself to any time for the publication of the conclusion of "Modern Painters;" he can only promise that its delay shall not be owing to any indolence on his part." Ruskin, "Preface," *The Seven Lamps of Architecture,* (1849) New York, Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, reprinted in 1988, p. 5.

[159]Darby , *Islamic Perspective,* p. 46.

[160]Darby Dissertation, p. 47.

space occupied another, without either overlapping and producing dark edges, or leaving white lines or gaps between each tint.

Supposing the artist's work to have been satisfactorily terminated, much now depends upon the printer. Considerable hazard is incurred by the chemical preparation of the stone, since, if washed with acid of too great a strength, all the delicate lines will disappear; or, if etched with too weak a solution, there will be a great tendency in the tints to clog up and become overcharged. Still greater difficulties present themselves in so attaching the paper upon which the impression is taken to each of the stones, as to cause the successive colours to fall into exactly their proper places, or, in technical language, to cause the stone to "register" well. Considerable practice is necessary before the requisite amount of dexterity can be attained in this respect; and few but those who have stood beside the press, and watched its practical manipulation, would give the workman credit for the degree of skill which is essential to a successful carrying out of this operation. Where great rapidity is indispensable, these difficulties are materially increased; because, if any colour be too heavily printed, it will take so long to dry that it will for some time be impossible to work off the remaining tints upon the same impression.[161]

This process, involving as many as seven stones for some plates in Jones's first editions, was expensive, resulting in a purchase price for the first volume of twenty-one pounds per copy on large paper and twelve pounds, ten shillings on small paper.[162] The second volume cost ten pounds ten shillings on large paper or six pounds six shillings on small paper.[163] Editions of volumes one and two together were sold on large paper for thirty-six pounds ten shillings and twenty-four pounds on small paper.[164] These prices were prohibitive for most architects and Jones was left with unsold copies.[165] Longman, Green, and Company began distributing copies

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[161]M. D. Wyatt, *The Industrial Arts of the Nineteenth Century,* Fol., London, 1851-1853, pp. x & xi, 160 plates.

[162]Darby dissertation, p. 46.

[163]Darby , *Islamic Perspective,* p. 46.

[164]Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Catalogue of the Valuable Library of the late Owen Jones, Esq.*, for Auction on April 10, 1875, p. 16.

[165]Interestingly, a new edition of the *THE ALHAMBRA: Plans. Elevations, Sections, and Drawings* featuring text by Antonio Fernandez-Puerta, plates by Owen Jones, and a foreword by Godfrey Goodwin scheduled for release in two volumes in April,1996 and September, 1996 will, also, be beyond the means of most buyers at 270*l.* for the two volumes in hardback and 500*l.* for the two volume set in leather. Correspondence from Al Saqi Books to Carol A. Flores received December, 1995.

for Jones in 1848 and over two hundred copies were sold at auction in 1854.[166] After Jones's death, Sotheby's auctioned the contents of the architect's library along with the remaining inventory of *The Alhambra*, which they advertised as "ONE OF THE MOST SUMPTUOUS AND VALUABLE WORKS OF MODERN TIMES."[167] This Alhambra cache, including printed and unprinted large and small letterpress, two hundred eighty-eight lithographic stones, thirty-one copper plates, twenty-three zinc plates, and twenty-six wood blocks, was purchased for two hundred pounds by the publisher and merchant Bernard Quaritch.[168] The continued demand for Jones's book is evident in the fact that Quaritch began issuing reprints in 1877 which he promoted as being "in every respect the same as the original edition."[169]

In *Masterpieces of Industrial Art and Sculpture at the International Exhibit of 1862*, J. B. Waring provides an example which indicates the benefits of chromolithography and suggests the impact Jones's work had on English printing. Waring says that it would have taken one artist at least forty-two years to produce the three hundred plates required for his text. It would have also taken one printer, working ordinary hours, one hundred and four years to print them.[170]

The *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra* won immediate acclaim for the beauty of the piece and for being "a practical work" of "utmost value" to the profession. Joseph Gwilt, in his own highly commended 1842 edition of *The Encyclopedia of Architecture*, listed *The Alhambra* as one of the studies of ancient

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[166]The 1854 auction included the sale of 64 editions of *The Plans, Elevations, and ...* large paper, plus 101 colombier, and 42 folio copies. Eighty-nine 'large views of the Court of the Lions', originally 2 gns each, were sold at the same auction. Darby dissertation, p. 48.

[167]Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Catalogue of the Valuable Library of the late Owen Jones, Esq., for Auction on April 10, 1875*, p. 16.

[168]*Illustrated London News*, Dec. 9, 1854, p. 579; Michael Darby, *Islamic Perspective*, pp. 47-8, and Darby dissertation, p. 48.

[169]Darby dissertation, p. 48.

[170]J.B. Waring, *Masterpieces of Industrial Art and Sculpture at the International Exhibit of 1862*, preface signed November, 1863, London, Day & Sons.

architecture essential for study by every student and practitioner.[171] *The Athenaeum* concurred, saying that "There has rarely, if ever, appeared a more magnificent work for the benefit of the architect or of the decorator"[172] and described the text as "the most perfectly illustrated architectural work" they had ever seen. They reported that "The engravings can scarcely be surpassed, nor have any been before attempted on so large a scale, and of so laborious a character [Figure 17]. The details, which are numerous, are drawn on stone, and printed in gold and colours by Mr. O. Jones himself, and we need no further warrant for their truth and perfection."[173]

Jones's work also received generous praise and extensive coverage in the French publication *Revue Generale de l'Architecture,*[174] a journal focusing on "detailed presentations of the studies and experience of eminent men in architecture" and, according to its editor, "surpassing all other periodicals in the deep and serious examination of many important questions."[175] Volumes V and VI of the *Revue,* published in 1844 and 1845, feature illustrations and quotations plus analysis of the *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra.* This comprehensive summary was prepared by the periodical's editor, Cesar Daly, who praised Jones's "talent, his courage and his love of art" and recognized him as "the artist who has most deeply studied the Arabic masterpiece"[176] and "shed new light on the artistic

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[171] Joseph Gwilt, *The Encyclopedia of Architecture,* ed. revised by Wyatt Papworth, Bonanza Books, New York, 1982, p. 1142. Gwilt's *Encyclopedia of Architecture* is described as "a work of immensely wide reference and great learning intended solely for professional study." (See: John Steegman, *Victorian Taste,* Cambridge, MIT Press, 1970, p. 81. Ironically, Gwilt recommended Jones's work, but the text discussing the Alhambra references Murphy's work; this may be due to the fact that Jones's material appeared after this section was written or printed and wasn't revised. See Gwilt, 1982 Bonanza Books edition, p. 54

[172] *The Athenaeum,* 4 August, 1838, p. 556.

[173] *The Athenaeum,* 20 August, 1842, p. 750.

[174] *Revue Generale de l'Architecture,* Volumes 5 and 6, 1844. I am indebted to the art historian and French scholar, Frederica Harlow-McRae for translating the articles in the *Revue* and other materials important to this study.

[175] "Introduction," *Revue Generale de l'Architecture,* Vol. VI, pp. 2-3.

[176] *Revue Generale de l'Architecture,* Volume V, 1844.

genius of the artists-creators of the Alhambra."[177] Daly credits the English architect, appropriately, for revealing the construction of the stalactite dome and reproduces Jones's findings and illustrations of this structural form. He also endorses the English architect's explanations and depictions of other elements comprising Arabic construction and ornamentation, such as Jones's hypothesis that the windows of the Sala de la Barca originally contained stained glass.[178] He embraces Jones's other conjectures and postulates, repeating Jones's theory concerning the dominant influence of religion upon art and quotes the passages from the Koran included in the *Alhambra* text which indicate how climate and other physical circumstances affected religious belief. Daly then informed his readers that religion, as the "most powerful agent binding a people" influenced every aspect of Arabic life, including the architecture.[179] This acceptance, acclamation, and lengthly presentation of Jones's ideas and materials testifies to the respect and influence of both his approach and his text.[180]

John Sweetman points out that Jones's text continues to be considered a valuable resource in contemporary Islamic studies. Professor Oleg Grabar of Princeton University also praised the "unique achievements" of Owen Jones and Jules Goury in their work on the Moorish palace. In his 1978 text, entitled *The Alhambra,* Professor Grabar observed that "It is interesting and distressing that their's should still be the best available elevations and sections of architecture and drawings of decorative designs from the Alhambra."[181] Grabar proposed the theory

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177"Introduction," *Revue Generale de l'Architecture,* Vol. VI, pp. 2-3.

178*Revue Generale de l'Architecture,* Volume V, the *Revue*, 1844.

179*Ibid.*, p. 99.

180Volumes V and VI of the *Revue* dedicate twenty-seven pages of text to summarize, quote, and discuss Jones's text; in addition, Daly reproduces over twenty-five images from the text taken from Jones's plates.

181Professor Grabar also references the work of Girault de Prangey in his *Essai sur l'Architecture des Arabes* (1841) in this quotation. Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra,* Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1978.

that two types of romantic inquiry prompted studies of the Spanish palace in the 1830's and 1840's. The first type of investigation involved a search for the picturesque by members of the French literati and English aristocracy which produced evocative contemporary literature presenting the Alhambra and Granada as "symbols of sensuous exoticism." An example of this practice occurs in Theophile Gautier's description of the palace as an 'earthly paradise,' and Washington Irving's emphasis on its 'barbaric magnificence.' Grabar's second type of inquiry concerned a quest "for new doctrines and new ideas about the arts and especially about ornament." He maintains that this second motivation prompted Goury, Jones, and Girault de Prangey to study the Alhambra; but, unfortunately, "Their models and designs, copied and studied in art schools all over the world, came to be interwoven with the romantic associations spun by Washington Irving, Chateaubriand and others and led to the innumerable hotels, bars, and movie houses called Granada or Alhambra."[182] This distinction is not understood in many discussions of Jones's work and the appellation of "Alhambra Jones," probably bestowed as a tribute of respect by his peers, has been misinterpreted as evidence of his identification with the first group instead of the second.[183]

An examination of Jones's text affirms his analytical approach to his subject. He replaces the emotive hyperbole and figurative descriptions of his contemporaries with explicit and perceptive analysis. Beginning with the use of the terms "Plans," "Sections," "Elevations," and "Details" in the title, Jones announces the work as an architectural study and not another popular "illustrated book" [Figures 18 and 19].[184] The title may also be a clever device inviting comparisons between his work

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[182]*Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

[183]Similarly, the popular artist, John Frederick Lewis was called "Spanish Lewis" in recognition of his extensive study and illustration of Spanish subjects. Darby, *Islamic Perspective*, p. 27.

[184]The article "Illustrated Books," *The Quarterly Review*, Vol. LXXIV, 1844, pp. 167-199 praised Jones's work while criticizing many of the other fashionable illustrated books of the day for emphasizing visual over intellectual content.

and the efforts of James Cavanaugh Murphy, since Murphy had produced a book entitled *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Views of the Church of Batalha* (1795, 1836) prior to *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain.* Contrasting Jones's work with the earlier author's text demonstrates the competency and comprehensiveness of Jones. In addition to the errors in Murphy's text discussed earlier, Murphy discussed fewer aspects of the building and provided fewer illustrations. His representations [Figures 9 and 10] are less detailed and informative than the plates produced by Jones and are usually restricted to one element per page: a plan, section, or elevation. Jones, on the other hand, represents several related elements on each page so that information requiring three plates in Murphy's text may be found in one plate by Jones [Figures 20 and 21].

Jones also displays serious scholarship by acknowledging the contribution of his deceased colleague, Jules Goury,[185] and including footnotes referencing recent work by other scholars pertinent to the subject. These annotations include an article on concrete in the *Quarterly Review* and information about Islamic beliefs and practices in Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*.[186] The quotation from Victor Hugo's *Les Orientales,* which precedes the text, is another example of the author's comprehensive knowledge of his subject which extends to contemporary literature - in this case, the work of the recently acclaimed poetic genius of France.[187] Jones also relies on Pascual de Gayangos (1809-1897), the foremost

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185"*Digne Owen! tu n'as pas voulu que le nom de ton ami fût sans auréole; tu as inscrit don nom, avant le tien, sur le frontispiece du livre monumental dont tu as fait seul plus des trois quarts, et tu as dédié l'oeurve entière à la mémoire de Goury. De telles actions honorent les arts, de telles amitiés font gémir sur les préjugés nationaux.*" Translated by Frederica McRae as : "Worthy Owen! You didn't want your friends name to be without a halo. You inscribed his name before yours, on the frontispiece of the monumental book of which you alone wrote over three-quarters, and you dedicated the entire work to Goury's memory. Such actions honor art, such friendships make our national prejudices cry out [sic]. *Revue Generale,* Vo. V, 1844, p. 104.

186See *The Quarterly Review,* Vol. CXVI, p. 524 and Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egypt.*

187Victor Hugo, "GRENADE A L'ALHAMBRA" from *Les Orientales* (1829). The original passage reads: L'ALHAMBRA! L'ALHAMBRA! PALAIS QUE LES GENIES

authority on Arabic, to prepare the history of the building and translate the inscriptions which form much of the decoration [Figures 22-25].[188] Earlier works, like Vivant Denon's *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt,* reproduced inscriptions and even presented reconstructions of missing text, but did not reveal their meaning.[189] Murphy's work included translations of some of the most common inscriptions, such as: "*There is no conqueror but God*" [Plate XXIV - Figure 26] and "Praise be to God!" [Plate XIV]. Jones, on the other hand, traced every inscription on the Alhambra himself and then asked Gayangos to interpret each passage.[190]

ONT DORE' COMME UN REVE ET REMPLI D'HARMONIES;
FORTERESSE AUX CRENEAUX FESTONNES ET CROULANS
OU' L'ON ENTEND LA NUIT DE MAGIQUES SYLLABES,
QUAND LA LUNE, A' TRAVERS LES MILLE ARCEAUX ARABES,
SEME LES MURS DE TREFLES BLANCS!

Frederica McRae's translates this passage as:

The Alhambra! The Alhambra! Palace that genius
Has gilded like a dream and filled with harmony;
Fortress with scalloped and tottering battlements
Where one hears night's magic words (syllables),
When the moon, across its (the Alhambra's) thousand Arabic arches
spreads white clover (*trefle* = trefoil, as in arches) over the walls.

[188]Pascual de Gayangos (1809-1897) "was a noted Arabic scholar as well as an authority on Spanish history and literature," Maxim Newmark, *Dictionary of Spanish Literature,* New York, Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 136-7. *The Oxford Companion to Spanish Literature*, ed. by Philip Ward provides the following information: "Arabist and historian. Eductated in France, Gayangos studied Arabic under Silvestre de Sacy and entered the Spanish government as an interpreter in 1831. He lived in Britain for several years contributing to many journals, among them *Westminster Review* and *Edinburgh Review.* He abridged the history of Muslim Spain by al-Makhari and the history of Spanish literature by Ticknor (q.v.) On behalf of the British Museum Library he collected and catalogued Spanish manuscripts and early printed books. He taught Arabic in the University of Madrid for some time from 1843 and was elected to the Real Academia de la Historia in 1844."*The Oxford Companion to Spanish Literature*, ed. by Philip Ward, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1978, p. 238.

[189]Vivant Denon's *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt,* Volumes I, II, III, Arno Press, New York, 1973.

[190]"To insure perfect accuracy, an impression of every ornament throughout the palace was taken, either in plaster or with unsized paper." Advertisement for the *Alhambra* , London, July 25, 1842. Since Jones believed that architecture was a direct reflection of the mentality of the culture which produced it, inscriptions were an important key to understanding the ideas and attitudes of the Alhambra's designers, builders, and patrons.

The Arabic translations revealed the use of three types of inscriptions; these include: *ayat* - verses from the Koran, *asja'* - pious or devout sentences not taken from the Koran, and *ash' ar* - poems which praise the builders or owners of the palace. Gayangos explains that the *ayat* and *asja* usually adopted Cufic characters formed so that each inscription could be read backwards or forwards, up or down, without altering the meaning [Figure 27]. Other verses and long poems were composed of "African" characters. Some of these messages indicate the purpose of a particular space, like the throne in the Hall of the Ambassadors: "From me thou art welcomed every morning and evening, with the tongues of blessings, prosperity, happiness, and friendship...," or announce attitudes connected with an area; for example, in a niche for a vase or water-cooler the inscriptions read: "I am like the nuptial array of a bride endowed with beauty and perfection.+If not so, look at this vase, and thou wilt easily understand the truth of my assertion.+ Thou mayest imagine the vase within to be like a devout man, always standing to perform his prayers." Jones particularly admired the inscriptions in the Window of the Hall of the Two Sisters for "the music of their composition" [Figure 28].

Inscriptions had disappeared from English architecture, but re-emerged in the nineteenth century as an important decorative and associational element in the Gothic Revival, the Arts and Crafts, and the Aesthetic Movements. With *The Alhambra's* publication, Jones drew the attention of the design community to the beauty of the written messages in the medieval [Figure 29] and Arabic styles [Figures 22-27] present in the architecture of the Alhambra and may have influenced the rebirth of writing as a decorative device in architecture. Jones used inscriptions in his own work, throughout his career. For example, he displayed an inscription prominently on the exterior of one of his earliest competition designs, incorporated inscriptions in the interiors of the churches he decorated [Figures 30 and 31], included stylized monograms in the furniture and architecture of his latest

residential designs [Figure 32], and displayed an inscription prominently in the pediment of his last work at Eynsham Hall [Figure 33].[191] He also created special commemorative "inscriptions" on paper in the stylized thirteenth-century lettering and ornamentation which he made famous. Two celebrated recipients of these illuminations include C.R. Cockerell and Charles Dickens. Jones prepared a testimonial for Cockerell's retirement from the Royal Institute of British Architects and a quotation from Shakespeare's *Henry IV* for Dickens's favorite home Gad's Hill.[192]

One of Jones's accounts of the use of inscriptions in the Spanish palace is the following passage revealing the texts adorning the upper end of the Hall of the Two Sisters [Figure 28]:

> Its chief ornaments are the inscriptions, which address themselves to the eye of the observer by the beautiful forms of the characters; exercise his intellect by the difficulty of deciphering their curious and complex involutions; and reward his imagination, when read, by the beauty of the sentiments they express, and the music of their composition.
>
> On the Band round the windows, in African characters, are the five following verses:-
>
> Brightly doth [our Sultan, like] the full moon of direction, shine in the high regions of empire. May his praiseworthy deeds for ever last, and his radiant light never tarnish!
>
> For what else is he but the sun taking up his abode in this sign, therefrom to dissipate all the shadows around?

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[191]The Eynsham Hall inscription reads "E BENIGNA ESTRELLA NAO MENOS NA LUSA TERRA EXPRIMENTARA."

[192]Alan S. Watts, *Dickens at Gad's Hill,* Reading, Cedric Dickens and Elvendon Press, 1989, pp. 39-40. The Dickens' illumination is exhibited in Dickens House Museum, 48 Doughty Street, London, without attribution to Jones. It is a typical example of the variety of lettering and intricate background designs which Jones used in these calligraphic compositions.. In this one, the word "pilgrims" is mistakenly spelled as "pilgirms" and must be the result of some private joke between the author and the architect since Jones was much too exacting to release a work with an error. The two men served on committees together and supported some of the same causes. Dickens disliked and criticized Henry Cole and the Schools of Design. He criticized the Great Exhibition and printed sarcastic comments about Jones's explanation of the original colors in the Alhambra in *Household Words.*

From me [as from the horizon] to overlook the court of his empire, whenever he appears on the throne of the Khalifs, like a bright luminary in the sky.

Let him but direct a glance to the quarter where the zephyrs joyfully play, and the fugitive gales shall instantly return to their usual abode. Apartments are these enfolding so many wonders that the eyes of [the spectator] remain for ever fixed on them; provided he be gifted with a mind [to estimate them].

The Cufic inscription in the panel underneath the arch:--

Glory [be given] to our Lord Sidi Abu Bdillah Al-ghani-billah. May God prosper his empire, and perpetuate his happiness!

The inscription in African, enclosed by the tails of the Cufic letters in the circle:

God is the best of protectors. He is the most compassionate of the compassionate: God Almighty was true [in his words].--*Afr.*

In the Ovals, on the right: --

Praise [be given] to God, the only one. Thanks be likewise [returned] to God. -- *Afr.*

On the two sides of this alcove, not shewn in this plate are several inscriptions in similar situations to those here described.*

On the right wall; on the band round the window:

Wherein the warm gale descends to mitigate the cold of winter, thereby producing a salubrious air and a mild temperature.

Truly so many are the beauties of every kind that we enfold, that even the stars in heaven [come down to] borrow their light from us.

And how can it be otherwise; when we are built by the command of a King whose illustrious deeds and commendable actions are [already] recorded [by the historians].

The Cufic inscription over:

May divine help, solidity of empire, and splendid victory [over his enemies] fall to the lot of our Lord, the commander of the Moslems! --*Cuf.*

In the square contained by the tails of the Cufic letters, is the following in African: --

Glory [be given] to our Lord, the Sultan Abu' 'Abdillah Al-ghani-billah; may God prosper his empire!

On the left wall round the window, in two verses only, the third being now destroyed:

As to me, I am like a beneficent eye [overlooking] that garden; I never cease to repeat -- "Certainly, he is the Lord."

Mohammed, the extolled for his liberality and his courage; he whose fame knows no bounds, and whose righteous deeds [in religion] cannot be surpassed.*

The Cufic inscription over: --

Glory [be given] to the conqueror of the cities and the ornament of the times, our Lord Abu' ' Abdillah, the pride of the Beni' Al-ansa'r -- *Cuf.*

On the niche to the left, in verse: --

Praise to God!
With my ornaments and tiara I surpass beauty itself: nay, the luminaries in the Zodiac [out of envy] descend to me.

The water vase + within me, they say is like a devout man standing towards the *Kiblah* {} of the *Mihra'b*, ready to begin his prayers.

Against the current of time my generous deeds are insured. I shall always quench the thirst of the thirsty, and remedy the wants of the needy.

Indeed, it looks as if I had borrowed liberality [itself] from the hands of our Lord Abu'-l-haja'j.

May he continue to shine, a bright luminary in my sky, as long as the full moon beams forth through the shadows of night. //

On the niche to the right: --

Praise to God!
Delicately have the fingers of the artist embroidered my robe, after setting the jewels of my diadem.

[People] compare me to the throne of a bride; yet I surpass it in this , that I can secure the felicity of those who possess me.

If anyone approach me complaining of thirst, he will receive in exchange cool and limpid water, sweet without admixture.

As if I were the bow of the clouds when it first appears, and the sun our Lord Abu'-l-haja'j.

As monarch whose hands distribute gifts to the needy [as often and profusely] as the waves [succeed each other].

May his court be revered and visited as long as the house of God [Mekka] shall continue the resort of the pilgrims.

On the arch above: --

...And there is no conqueror but God. Glory to our Lord the Sultan Abu'-l-haja'j. -- *Afr.* God help him! -- *Afr.* Glory to God! God is eternal! God is [our] refuge in every trouble.

*Vide Plate XV., where the section of this alcove is given.

*Lozano and Shakespear, who give this inscription after Castillo, have only nine verses. We find ten in our impressions; and there can be no doubt that one is still wanting.

+From the allusions in these poems, it would appear that these two niches were used as receptacles for water vases, and not as a tradition recorded by Echevarria ("Paseos, vol. i, p. 161) has it -- to holde the slippers of those who entered the Hall.

ßThe *Kiblah* is the point of the horizon towards which Mohammedans turn in their prayers, marking the place where Mecca stands. The *Mihra'b* is the enclosure before the *Kiblah*.

//This inscription, like the following one, consisted once of six verses; but the sixth is now destroyed. [Text accompanying PLATE XXI. LA VENTANA.--SALA DE LAS DOS HERMANAS. WINDOWS IN THE ALCOVE. HALL OF THE TWO SISTERS.][193]

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[193]Examples of some of these inscriptions include the following verses:

"I am the garden, and every morn am I revealed in new beauty. Observe attentively how I am adorn'd, and thou wilt reap the benefit of a commentary on decoration;

"For, by Allah! the elegant structures around me assuredly surpass all other edifices by the happy presage attending their foundation.

How many delightful prospects I enfold! Prospects, in the contemplation of which a mind enlightened finds the gratification of its desire.

This same comprehensive approach is followed throughout the text. By adopting a synchronic "site visit" format, Jones conveys a wide range of synchronic, diachronic, and specific design information within a familiar context.[194] For example, while "conducting" the reader through the grounds outlined in the plan of Plate I [Figure 18], he explains the original functions of the spaces "passed" as well

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Look upon this wonderful cupola, at sight of whose all perfection all other domes must pale and disappear:

To which the Constellation of the Twins extends the hand of salutation; and for communion, the Full Moon deserts her station in the heavens.

Nay, more; were they to take these aisles for their abiding place, those heavenly bodies would render constant homage to their beauty.

No wonder, then, if the stars grow pale in their high stations, and if a limit be put to the duration of their light.

Here also behold the portico, unfolding every beauty. Indeed, had this place no other ornament, it would still surpass the firmament in splendour:

For manifold are the gorgeous habiliments in which thou, O Sultan! hast arrayed it, surpassing in brilliancy the lustrous robes of Yemen!

To look at them, one would imagine them to be planets revolving in their orbits, and throwing into shade the sunburst of morning.

Here are columns ornamented to absolute perfection; the beauty of which has become glorified: columns

Which, when struck by the earliest beam celestial, may be likened, notwithstanding their vastness, to many blocks of pearl.

Indeed, there is no palace more imposing in its elevation, nor so brilliantly decorated; nor having more extensive apartments;

They may be compared to markets where the richest comers are overpaid in beauty, and where the arbiter of elegance presides eternally to pronounce his award;

And where the sigh of the zephyr is inhaled by the noontide ray whose scintillating beam is more refulgent than all other light.

Between myself and the most high fortune the closest relationship exists, and the greatest resemblance between us lies in the splendour of our destiny.

Every art has laid its gifts upon me; nay, all have united in conferring perfection.

By those who are permitted to behold me I am regarded as the Queen of Beauty who bestoweth the prize upon her well-beloved;

Indeed, when the enraptured observer has feasted his eyes upon me, he will find reality surpassing the most extravagant flights of fancy;

He will see the moon-beam start from my orbs, an its scintillation leave me only to enter the mansions of the blest.

The palace is a palace of transparent crystal; it appears to be illimitable as the boundless ocean;

And yet I am not the sole marvel of this heaven upon earth; for I overlook with ecstasy a garden, the like of which no human eye has contemplated

I was built by the Imam Ibn Nasr. May Allah uphold his majesty as a pattern to other kings! Jones, *The Alhambra*, text accompanying PLATE XXI.

[194]Precedent for this approach can be found in Vivant Denon's *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt*, Volumes I, II, III, Arno Press, New York, 1973; see the text in Volume I accompanying Plate VIII, pp. 144-152.

as their contemporary state and applications. In this way, the reader learns that the ancient citadel is now used to house prisoners, and that the houses, gardens, and convent situated in the areas identified as "Calle San Francisco" and "Alhambra Alta" occupy the place of the former mosque and the house of the Cadi [Figure 34].[195] An example of this technique is given in the following excerpt:

> The walls of the fortress are studded with towers; those on the south, towards the plain, were used for defence, whilst on the northern wall, protected by nature, they formed the charming habitations of the Sultan and his Hareem. The most prominent is the Tower of Comares, within which is the celebrated Hall of the Ambassadors. The severe but picturesque exterior of these towers, gives no indication of the art and luxury within; they were formed without, like the palaces of the ancient Egyptians, to impress the beholder with respect for the power and majesty of the king; whilst within, the fragrant flowers and running streams, the porcelain mosaics and gilded stucco work, were constantly made to remind the owner, how all that ministered to his happiness was the gift of God. The architecture of the Arabs is essentially - religious - the offspring of the Koran, as Gothic architecture is of the Bible. The prohibition to represent animal life, caused them to seek for other means of decoration,--inscriptions from the Koran, interwoven with geometrical ornaments and flowers, not drawn decidedly from nature, but translated through the loom; for it would seem that the Arabs, in changing their wandering for a settled life, ---in striking the tent to plant it in a form more solid, had transferred the luxurious shawls and hangings of Cachmere, which had adorned their former dwellings, to their new,---changing the tent-pole for a marble column, and the silken tissue for gilded plaster. [Text accompanying PLATE I, VOL. I.]

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195 "The fortress of the Alhambra is situated at one extremity of the city of Granada, above which it rises like the Acropolis at Athens. The usual entrance is from the "Calle de Gomeles," and the beautiful public gardens to the Gate of Justice. From the Gate of Justice, we pass by a narrow street, and the "Puerta del Vino," to the "Plaza de los Algibes," or Place of the Cisterns.
On the right is the Palace of Charles V.; beyond, without any indication of its internal beauty, is the "Casa Real," all that remains of the ancient palace of the Moorish kings; on the left of the Place of the Cisterns, is the "Alcazaba," or citadel, now used as a receptacle for convicts. It appears to have been the most ancient part of the fortress; within are several ruined towers which may have also formerly served as prisons. From the Palace of Charles V, by the "Calle Real," we pass the parish church to the "Calle San Francisco," and the "Alhambra Alta." A few houses, gardens, and a convent, fill up the whole of this part of the fortress, where formerly stood the great mosque, and house of the Cadi, which existed at the time of the French, but of which no traces can now be discovered. Jones, *The Alhambra*, text accompanying PLATE I.

The remaining text accompanying Plate I goes on to give further background to enable the reader to comprehend the unfamiliar architecture. By establishing comparisons with the Acropolis at Athens and ancient Egyptian palaces, the reader is transitioned to understanding this new style. In the same way, the religion and architecture of Islam is compared to Christianity and Gothic architecture. With this correspondence established, the author is free to introduce new ideas and beliefs essential to Islam and critical to understanding the architecture. Other instances of explanations of religion and traditional practices and their influence on the architecture are to be found in the descriptions of the purpose of a mihrab [Figure 35 - Plate XXV], of the Baths [Figure 36 - Plate XXVI], and the dual nature of the lattice windows [Plate XIX].[196] While the first plate presents general commentary on the areas represented in the plan and drawings, the descriptions following the other plates provide more specific information on a broad range of topics, including measurements of particular spaces and the condition and formation of particular elements.[197]

The materials used in the construction of the palace are identified throughout the text. Where substitutions have occurred, the in-place materials are designated as restored or modern and the original materials are also noted. An example of this practice occurs in the narration accompanying Plate XIV where the author explains

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[196]"The lattice window gives light to an upper corridor, leading to apartments appropriate to the women. It was through these lattices that the dark-eyed beauties of the Hareem viewed the splendid fetes in the hall below, in which they could only participate as distant spectators. They are precisely similar in construction to those now seen in Hareems of all eastern nations.* *Vide Lane's "Manners & Customs of the Modern Egypt." Jones, *The Alhambra,* text accompanying PLATE XX: DETAIL OF THE UPPER STORY, HALL OF THE TWO SISTERS.

[197]For example, the Court of the Lions is reported to be "a parallelogram of one hundred feet by fifty, and is surrounded by a portico, with small pavilions at each end. The portico and pavilions consist of one hundred twenty-eight columns, supporting arches of the most delicate and elaborate finish, still retaining much of their original beauty: the various colors, however, of the ornaments are wanting. During the repeated restorations which the palace has from time to time undergone, the walls of this Court were defaced by several coats of whitewash, beneath which it is still possible to discover traces of the original colouring." Jones, *The Alhambra,* text accompanying PLATE XIII.

that the modern roof of red tiles "occupies the position of the ancient roof, which was probably of glazed tiles, in various colours."

This attention to building materials plus the author's extensive knowledge of other Islamic structures enables Jones to reconstruct missing elements and areas. An example of this occurs in his examination of flooring; he informs the reader that:

> The present pavement of the halls and courts of the palace, is either of white marble, as in the Hall of the Two Sisters and Hall of the Abencerrages, or of brick. Nowhere, however, does it appear to be the original flooring, as we see it in several places considerably above the ancient level, concealing the lower part of the Mosaic dados. On the floor of one of the alcoves of the Hall of Justice, are still to be seen the Painted Tiles delineated in the centre of this Plate, which seem to suggest a style of flooring more in harmony with the general decoration of the halls and courts, than either those of marble or of brick.
>
> It has been objected to this, however, by persons conversant with the manners and customs of the Mohamedans, that it is most improbable that these Tiles, on which the name of God is written, should have been trodden under foot; the Mohammedan of the present day being most careful to avoid treading on any piece of paper, for fear it should contain the name of God: but it must be borne in mind, that the Arabs of Spain were less strict in observing the religious injunctions of the Koran,--witness the fountain in the Court of the Lions, and the paintings in the Hall of Justice; it is also difficult to imagine to what other purpose these Tiles should have been applied.
>
> The pattern appears to have been impressed on the clay by molds, and the colours run in, in a liquid state between the lines. [Text accompanying PLATE XLIV, VOL. I. PAINTED TILES.]

Jones's examination of the palace's tiles and mosaics reflects both an archaeological and contemporary interest [Figure 37-39]. One motive of architects studying ancient polychromy was the implementation of permanent color schemes for contemporary structures. Consequently, they investigated new materials with permanent finishes to replace the fragility of paint and to resist the effects of the soot which blackened city buildings. In France, Hittorff experimented with a baked, enamelled, volcanic rock called Volvic or *lave d'Auvergne*[198] and Jones became involved with manufacturers in the burgeoning English industry for encaustic tiles,

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[198]Middleton, *The Beaux-Arts*, p. 191, and Mignot, Claude, *Architecture of the Nineteenth Century in Europe*, Rizzoli, New York, 1984, p. 84.

Mosaics, and terra cotta.[199] In 1842, Jones produced a book for Blashfield entitled *Designs for Mosaic and Tessellated Pavements*; this text contained ten designs which Jones had produced for Blashfield to demonstrate the way tiles could be incorporated into contemporary use [Figure 40].[200] The following quotation shows the dual nature of his interest in Mosaics:

> These Mosaics are as perfect as when originally executed, and, seem indeed to be imperishable. They are formed of baked clay, squeezed into moulds of the different figures, glazed on the surface, and bevelled slightly on the edge; thus, they were not only easily withdrawn from the moulds, but when united, they formed a key for the mortar which attached them to the walls.
>
> A method of producing these Mosaics by machinery has recently been invented in this country, by Mr. Henry Pether, and carried into execution with great perfection by Mr. Singer, of Vauxhall Pottery; the separate pieces, instead of being moulded, are cut out of thin layers of biscuit by Mr. Singer's machine, in considerable quantities at once: they are afterwards glazed and bedded in cement upon slabs of slate or stone. [Text accompanying PLATE XXXIX., VOL. I, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra.*]

Scrutiny of the mosaics lead Jones to major discoveries about the techniques used to create individual geometric motifs and two-dimensional flat patterns. Jones's identification and articulation of abstract ornament is one of the major contributions of the *Plans, Sections, Elevations and Details of the Alhambra* to design theory. Nineteenth century architects were interested in the study of ornament as part of the reaction to the unadorned style of the Regency. Jones identified and explained the way the Moors created individual elements, such as frets, and demonstrated the way they constructed grids as the basis for overall pattern. As a result of these discoveries, Jones advocated the use of conventionalized forms from nature in place of the florid three-dimensional "naturalistic" designs popular at the time. His arguments, coupled with the ideas and energy of Henry Cole, Richard Redgrave, Gottfried Semper, and others, lead to flat-pattern being adopted as the standard in the English Reform Movement and the

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[199]This topic is developed in Chapter III.

[200]Owen Jones, *Designs for Mosaic and Tessellated Pavements,* London, John Weale, 1842.

associated Schools of Design. Although Ruskin opposed conventionalized ornament, the abstract patterns and techniques of ornamentation identified and advocated by Jones were accepted and revolutionized British design. The use of conventionalized ornament continued into the Aesthetic and the Arts and Crafts Movements.

Jones observed that the amazing variety of designs produced by the Arabs were actually dervived from two principles.[201] He explained these principles with two simple diagrams [Figure 41: Numbered 1 and 2] which he repeated in the chapter on "Moresque Ornament" in the *Grammar*.[202] The first illustration showed equidistant horizontal and perpendicular lines crossed diagonally on each square and the second diagram indicated diagonal lines intersecting each alternate square. Jones pointed out that these two arrangements demonstrated the potential for infinite variety in ornamental patterns based upon simple grids. He also explained that the number of variations attainable could be increased by changing the coloring of the ground, the surface lines, or both; these changes would also produce variations in effect by "bringing into prominence different chains or other general masses."[203]

This type of inquiry into the palace's decoration also served as the fieldwork for Jones's theoretical position on the ancient polychromy of the Moors. He concluded that the ornamentation of the Alhambra utilized the primitive colors blue, red, and yellow (gold) with "the secondary colours, purple, green, and orange, occurring only in the Mosaic dados, which, being near the eye, formed a point of repose from the more brilliant colouring above." He noted that the contemporary appearance represented in Plate XXXVIII [Figure 42] indicated green grounds for many of the ornaments, but maintained that "in all cases...it will be seen, on a minute

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[201]Jones, *The Alhambra,* VOL. I., PLATE XXXVII, FRETS.

[202]Jones, "Moresque Ornament," *The Grammar of Ornament,* New York, Portland House, 1986, p. 73.

[203]See PLATES XL, XLI, and XLII and their descriptions, *The Alhambra* and the discussion of "Interlaced Patterns," "Lozenge Diapers," and "Square Diapers" in *The Grammar of Ornament,* by Owen Jones, New York, Portland House, 1856; reprint, New York, Portland House, 1986, pp. 72-74.

examination, that the colour originally employed was blue, which being a metallic colour, has become green from the effects of time. This is proved by the particles of blue colour, which occur everywhere in the crevices." He also notes that in the restorations made by the Catholic kings the grounds of the ornaments were painted both green and purple and it was easy to identify the restorations, or re-paintings, by "the coarseness of the execution, and the want of that perfect system, in the balance of colours, by which they were rendered so harmonious by the Moors." He concludes his remarks on ancient polychromy using the same concept of the decline of art proposed in "The Influence of Religion upon Art" lecture. In this instance, he says:

> that among the Arabs, the Egyptians, and the Greeks, the primary colours, if not exclusively employed, were certainly early so, during the periods of art; whilst, during the decadence, the secondary colours became more of importance. Thus, in Egypt, in the Pharonic temples, we find the primary colours predominating; in the Ptolemaic temples, the secondaries; so also on the early Greek temples are found the primary colours; whilst at Pompeii every variety of shade and tone was employed. [Text accompanying PLATE XXXVIII. ACTUAL STATE OF THE COLOURS.]

He developed his theory further in the next example:

> The colours of blue, red, and gold, are still to be seen on the small capital of the column of the centre window of the Hall of the Ambassadors; but no traces of gold or any other colours have been discovered on the shaft. The same thing occurs in the Court of the Fish-Pond and the Court of the Lions, but in each case the harmony of the colouring appears to require that they should be gilt. It is probable that in the restoration which the palace underwent during the residence of the Spanish kings, it was found much more easy to remove the gold from the columns, exposing the white marble, than to incur the expense of re-gilding. That they were allowed to remain white originally, no one can suppose who will for an instant mentally restore the colouring of the parts above:-- [Text accompanying PLATE XXXV. SALAS DE LOS EMBAXADORES Y DE LAS DOS HERMANAS. CAPITAL OF A COLUMN FROM THE HALL OF THE AMBASSADORS, AND FOUR SMALL ENGAGED SHAFTS FROM THE HALL OF THE TWO SISTERS].

This controversial hypothesis on the gilding of the columns is the only part of Jones's text which received criticism from his peers. Although his ideas were consistent with Hittorff's theory that the Greeks maintained a system of polychromy

comparable to their system of form and, therefore, a trained eye could detect whether a particular form or color scheme was correct based on the attainment or lack of harmony and balance displayed, the Englishman's views on the colors used in the Alhambra did not accord with the colors Hittorff suggested.[204] This was not unusual, however, since each advocate for polychromy advanced a different scheme. Gottfried Semper thought the Greeks used dark red columns; Hittorff declared that the columns had been stained yellow, and Jones asserted that the columns of the Alhambra had been gilded. Several scholars say that Jones jeopardized his own theory by describing columns "Which, when struck by the earliest beam celestial, may be likened, notwithstanding their vastness, to many blocks of pearl"; [PLATE XXI] however, it is unlikely that he would have included contadictory information. It is more logical to assume that Jones believed morning sunlight on gilded columns would produce a pearl-like radiance instead of the blinding reflection produced by bright light bouncing off pure white columns.

Jones's exhaustive study of the palace led to critical discoveries concerning the construction of particular elements. The following passage, and accompanying sections, elevations, and details, continues to be reproduced as the most succinct and rational explanation of the components and method of assembling a muqarna or stalactite ceiling [Figures 43-45]:

> The ceiling of the Hall of the Bark, a wagon-headed dome of wood, of most elaborate patterns, as may be seen in the general section of the Court of the Fish-Pond, and the Hall of the Ambassadors, receives its support at each end from pendentives, abutting against the great arches. These pendentives are of a very curious mathematical construction. They are composed of numerous prisms of plaster, united by their contiguous lateral surfaces, consisting of seven different forms, proceeding from three primary figures on plan: they are, the right angled triangle (A), the rectangle (B), and the isoceles triangle (C). In these (*a a, a b, a c*) are equal; (*b a*) is equal to (*b b*), and the verticle [Jones's spelling] angle of the isoceles triangle (C) is 45 (degrees). The figure (B) has one form, in section; the figure (A) three; and figure (C) three; the third (C 3)

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[204]Middleton, *The Beaux-Arts*, pp. 206-7.

> being a rhomboid, formed by a double isoceles triangle. The curves (x x x) of the several pieces are similar, by which it will be seen that a piece may be combined with any one of the others by either of its sides; thus rendering them susceptible of combinations as various as the melodies which may be produced from the seven notes of the musical scale...[Text accompanying PLATE X. SALA DE LA BARCA. DETAILS OF THE ARCHES. HALL OF THE BARK.][205]

Descriptions of other types of ceilings accompany Plates VIII[206] and XVIII.[207] The depictions and descriptions of other architectural elements includes capitals [XXXIV - Figure 46], spandrils [Plates XXIII, XXXVI - Figure 47], cornices [Plate IX], arches [XXII, XXVII - Figure 21, XXVIII - Figure 48], lintels [Plate XXXV, Vol. II - Figure 49], porticos and pavilions (Plate XIII), windows [Plates IV, XX, Figures 50 and 51],[208] and doors [XXXII]. In addition, the following passage demonstrates Jones's method of discussing ornamentation in relation to the architecture elements enhanced:

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[205]This information is repeated in Albert F. Calvert, *The Alhambra,* John Lane, London, 1906, p. xliv, and Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1978, pp. 178-179.

[206]"The present ceiling of the Hall of the Ambassadors is a dome of wood, ornamented by ribs intersecting each other in various patterns, with ornaments in gold painted on grounds of blue and red in the interstices.

Similar ceilings occur under the arches of the Court of the Fishpond, and in the Hall of the Bark; but it is more than probable that the original ceiling of the Hall of the Ambassadors was of plaster of the stalactite form, as described in Plate X, and similar to that of the Hall of the Two Sisters. It will be seen, on reference to that section, that an arch of brick, originally thrown across this hall, had given way after the completion of the building, and must have carried with it the then existing ceiling, which was afterwards replaced by the present wooden one. This ceiling, however beautiful in detail and ingenious in its construction, appears scarcely worthy to crown this gorgeous hall." Jones, *The Alhambra,* VOL. I., PLATE VIII: SALA DE LOS EMBAXADORES. CEILING OF THE HALL OF THE AMBASSADORS LAID FLAT.

[207]"The conical ceilings of the Halls of Justice, Abercerrages, and Two Sisters, of which we give plan and section as well as columns and arches of a similar construction, attest the wonderful power and effect obtained by the repetition of the most simple elements. Nearly 5000 pieces enter into the ceiling of the Hall of the Two Sisters; and although they are simply of plaster, strengthened here and there with pieces of reed, no part of the palace is, in the present day, in a more perfect state of preservation."

[208]"The windows, over the entrance doorway, are formed of ribs of plaster, and were probably filled in with stained glass: no traces of this can now be discovered, but we are led to this conjecture, from the opposite wall next the Hall of the Ambassadors, having blank windows of a similar kind in which the interstices are painted of various colours. Windows of this class also occur in the Court of the Fish-pond and the Court of the Mosque." Jones, *The Alhambra,* VOL. I., Text accompanying PLATE IV: PATIO DE LA ALBERCA, VIEW OF THE COURT OF THE FISH-POND FROM THE HALL OF THE BARK.

> This arch may be further taken as a good example of the method of surface-decoration observed by the Arabs. The eye is first attracted by the outline of the general forms and masses, and at each nearer view discovers some new object of attention: thus the principal forms which strike the eye in this arch, are the inscription, rosace, and archivolt, and the gold flower on the upper surface of the spandrels carrying the eye off, and uniting the whole. On a nearer view, the blue flowers beneath the inscription and in the spandrels enter into the composition, with the details of the archivolt; on which, again, are painted small flowers, only visible on close examination...[Text accompanying PLATE XXVII. SALA DEL TRIBUNAL. DETAILS OF AN ARCH IN THE HALL OF JUSTICE.]

While scholars credit Jones with introducing the use of color and abstract pattern to nineteenth century design, they fail to recognize the influence of *Alhambra* on the work of two of his contemporaries: Washington Irving and A.W.N. Pugin. The effect on Irving becomes obvious when his original 1832 edition of *The Alhambra* is compared with his 1865 revision.[209] The later edition features a new insert entitled "NOTE ON MORISCO ARCHITECTURE"[210] where Irving discusses the Arabs' use of stucco, the brilliancy of the "primitive" colors selected, and the fact that these same colors are used by the Egyptians, Greeks, and Arabs, "in the early period of art." Although Irving does not reference Jones, these ideas originate in the text accompanying Plate XXXVIII of *The Alhambra*, where Jones says:

> ...that among the Arabs, the Egyptians, and the Greeks, the primary colours, if not exclusively employed, were certainly nearly so, during the periods of art; whilst, during the decadence, the secondary colours became more of importance. Thus, in Egypt, in the Pharonic temples, we find the primary colours predominating; in the Ptolemaic temples, the secondary; so also on the early Greek temples are found the primary colours; whilst at Pompeii every variety of shade and tone was employed."

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[209]The copies used for this comparison were Washington Irving, *The Alhambra: A Series of Tales and Sketches of the Moors and Spaniards,* Philadelphia, Carey & Lea, 1832, and Washington Irving, *The Alhambra,* New York, G. Putnam's Sons, 1865.

[210]Washington Irving, *The Alhambra,* G. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1865, p. 64-66.

Further evidence of Irving's source of information is revealed when he says that the pillars in the Court of the Lions were supposed to be "originally gilded."[211] Since Jones was alone in advancing this theory, Irving here betrays his source.

Perhaps the best example of the influence of Jones's *Alhambra* occurs in the work of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852), an original subscriber to both volumes. As the major proponent for a return to an archaeologically correct Gothic style of architecture, Pugin would have viewed Jones's study of the best preserved medieval palace in the world as a textbook offering well-documented evidence of a style uncontaminated by the ideas of the Renaissance and the Reformation, and, like Gothic, to some extent a derivative of Byzantine architecture.[212] By comparing Pugin's earliest work at St. Marie's Grange (1835-1836) [Figure 52] and Scarisbrick Hall (1837) with the important schemes he executed during the eighteen forties in St. Giles, Cheadle (1841-1846), and the Palace of Westminster (1840-1852), major changes become obvious; these changes exhibit the ideas and techniques outlined in Jones's text. For example, these transformations involve the introduction of strong, primary colors and gilding, a profusion of inscriptions displayed in the style of the Arabs, plus a new facility for the abstract ornamentation and two-dimensional pattern outlined by Jones. The addition of chromolithographed plates in Pugin's texts and his associations with manufacturers of encaustic tiles also date from this period.

Pugin received the opportunity to demonstrate his ideas for radical liturgical, architectural, and iconographical reform in the church of St. Giles, Cheadle, Staffordshire. His patron, the 16th Earl of Shrewsbury, provided the ideological and

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[211] Irving, 1865 edition, p. 60.

[212] The common basis for Gothic and Arabic art and architecture in Byzantine architecture was a popular concept gaining attention and interest during the first half of the nineteenth century. Gwilt sanctions this idea in the 1842 edition of *The Encyclopedia of Architecture* reporting that there was abundant proof "That all the modern arts, as well of the North, as of the West and South, had their origin from the Greek empire at Constantinople, which at that period gave the fashion in them, as did Italy five centuries afterwards." Gwilt, p. 53.

financial support necessary to realize Pugin's version of a fourteenth-century parish church "to which people might come for artistic and religious inspiration."[213] An investigation of this church presents the dual opportunity of studying one of Pugin's best works and identifying the influence of Jones's work on his contemporary.

Phoebe Stanton notes that the introduction of strong colors occurs in Pugin's schemes in the 1840's.[214] Cheadle certainly demonstrates this change since the space seems to vibrate in a blaze of brilliant red, bold blue, and bright gilding: the same use of primaries advocated by Jones.[215] Color is extended and emphasized in Cheadle's richly painted walls, stained glass, and in new encaustic tiles covering the floors and risers. These tiles, like the mosaics and pavements of the Moors, present two-dimensional patterns and inscriptions. For example, the nave and aisles of the church exhibit Minton floor tiles [Figure 53] imprinted with the text used in the consecration of the church,[216] a plea asking that "GOOD CHRISTIAN PEOPLE PRAY FOR THE ESTATE OF JOHN XVI EARL OF SHREWSBURY OF WHOSE GOOD THIS CHURCH WAS BUILT," and a message beginning "Domine non sum dignus..." which translates in full to "Lord I am not worthy that thou shouldst enter under my roof. Say but the word and my soul shall be healed."[217] These tiles are also used in an elaborate display of scripture on the steps within the chancel.

The scheme for St. Giles does not represent the first use of quotations within Pugin's work, but rather displays a significant change in the number, type, and appearance of messages used within the decoration. The young architect had painted inscriptions on the ceiling and introduced a religious quotation in the place

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213Phoebe Stanton, *Pugin*, New York, The Viking Press, 1972, p. 104.
214*Ibid.*
215In this instance, gilding is substituted for yellow, a change which Jones often made as well.
216"Bene fundata est domus Domini supra firmam petram" or "The Lord's house is well founded on a firm rock" adapted from Matthew vii, 25: *Pugin's Gem*, p. 11.
217*Ibid.*, p. 15.

of a decorative frieze in his first building, a house for himself at St. Marie's Grange [Figure 52].[218] He also used religious passages in "Gothicizing" Scarisbrick Hall. In fact, Mark Girouard cites Pugin's liberal use of pious texts in this decorative scheme as an early example of what would become an "obsessive Victorian habit."[219] Girouard cites the text encircling the great hall which reads "Except the Lord buildeth the house, they labour in vain that build it" as an example of a quotation which became fashionable in both English and Latin during the nineteenth century. Later, Pugin would use both English and Latin versions of this quotation, paralleling the repetition of the same verse in "African" and Cufic script described in *The Alhambra.* The isolated moral texts used in Scarisbrick Hall and St. Marie's Grange are replaced in Pugin's "Perfect Cheadle" by a tapestry of quotations from the Bible, excerpts from the Mass, and phrases from hymns of praise covering every surface. Here, as in the Alhambra, phrases and words become a calligraphic part of the pattern and the method of design emphasizes the importance of the associations stimulated by the visual presence and appearance of the text [Figure 54].

Like the Granada architects,[220] Pugin used inscriptions to identify particular spaces, actions, and appropriate attitudes. A typical example of this practice occurs in the chapel Pugin created for the Blessed Sacrament where every element in the design represents a Eucharistic text or emblem. This scheme begins with a Latin quotation on the risers of the steps leading to the chapel which translates as "He gave them bread from heaven. Man ate the bread of angels" (Psalm 77, 24-5). Once inside the chapel, the theme continues with the words "SANCTUS, SANCTUS, SANCTUS" or "HOLY, HOLY, HOLY" carved into the altar, gilded on the walls, and

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[218]Phoebe Stanton, *Pugin,* pp. 16-17.

[219]Mark Girouard, *The Victorian Country House,* New Haven, Yale University Press, 1985, ftn. p. 112.

[220]The following inscription demonstrates how the architects of the Alhambra distinguished particular spaces: "I am the garden, and every morn am I revealed in new beauty. Observe attentively how I am adorn'd, and thou wilt reap the benefit of a commentary on decoration." Jones, *The Alhambra,* Vol. I, PLATE XXI.

inlaid in the floor in tribute to the portion of the Mass reserved for the consecration of the bread and the wine [Figures 54 and 55]. Above the altar, the central stained glass window depicts an image of Christ over a quotation from the sixth chapter of St. John deciphered as "Amen, Amen. I say to you I am the living bread which came down from heaven." Finally, when exiting the chapel, the worshipper is encouraged to "Let us adore for ever the most Blessed Sacrament."

Inscriptions are also important in Pugin's elaborate scheme for the decoration of the Palace of Westminster. This program also presents text on ceilings, walls, floors, and furniture in carving, gilding, stained glass, paint, tiles, and wallpaper. Pugin prepared the plans and instructions for the Palace's ornamentation as Superintendent of the Works of Wood Carving under Sir Charles Barry. Although Barry, the architect of this momentous commission, had final approval, Pugin's input in the decorative design was critical. Not surprisingly, he advocated an ecclesiastical iconography, but Barry prevailed with a program of heraldry.[221] This theme emphasized epigraphs and coats-of-arms symbolizing Queen Victoria and earlier monarchs. The Queen is indicated throughout by the prominent display of her monogram, VR, for Victoria Regina; the royal motto of England, "Dieu et Mon Droit"; plus Latin and English versions of "God Save the Queen" and "Long live the Queen" [Figure 56].

As in Cheadle, the way the inscription is presented suggests a link between the new Palace of Westminster and Jones's analysis of the medieval palace in Spain. In both cases, patterns are formed by repeating a word or phrase and varying the appearance of the quotation through modifications in the background or in the language of the quotation. Just as the architects inscribed "God is our refuge in every trouble" and "There is no conqueror but God" in "African" and Cufic script in

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[221]Sir Robert Cooke, *The Palace of Westminster,* New York, Burton Skira, 1987, p. 87-8.

the Spanish palace, Pugin displays the mottoes "God save the Queen" and "God is my right" in English and Latin in the English Houses of Parliament.[222]

This technique for creating new ornamentation became the basis of Pugin's designs, explaining his prolific volume of work. By varying a few phrases through changes in coloration, materials, and the surrounding decorative elements, he quickly generated schemes which appeared original, complex, and infinitely detailed. Jones identifies this approach in *The Alhambra* in the descriptions accompanying Plates XL and XLI: "The mosaic dados on the pillars of the Hall of the Ambassadors present a great variety in their patterns, although their component parts are in each the same; but by changing the colours and juxtaposition of the several pieces, the greatest possible variety is produced" [Plate XL] and in Plate XLI: "These Mosaics, though in appearance so different from those of the preceding Plate, will be found on examination to be composed of the same pieces differently combined."

Irving and Pugin were not the only ones who studied Jones's text. The original subscribers' list included architects in Germany, Scotland, and the United States, as well as royalty and institutions of higher learning in Prussia, Spain, and Ireland.[223] This list also contains names of English architects, engineers, and builders, such as: A. Bartholomew, I. K. Brunel, R. C. Carpenter, the Cubitts, Messrs. Grissell and Peto, Phillip Hardwicke, Lewis Vuillamy, and T. H. Wyatt.[224] In addition, copies of the text plus the tracings and casts began to be studied in architectural schools in

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[222]Pugin also used Old French for some of the inscriptions and quotations on the exterior and interior of the palace.

[223]First edition subscribers include: Messrs. Asher (Berlin), W. Burn (Edinburgh), and Messrs. Cary and Hart (Philadelphia), and the British Museum, the London Institution, the Royal Dublin Society, and the Garrison Library, Gibraltar. Jules Goury and Owen Jones, *Plans, Sections, and Elevations of the Alhambra*, London, Owen Jones, 1842.

[224]The subscriber lists the individuals cited as: A. Bartholomew, Esq., FSA; I.K. Brunel, Esq.; R. C. Carpenter, FSA; W. Cubitt, Esq.; L. Cubitt, Esq.; Messrs. Grissell and Peto; Phillip Hardwicke, Esq.; AWN Pugin; Lewis Vuillamy; J.W. Wild, Esq., AIBA, and T. H. Wyatt, FIBA.

England and abroad.[225] Moreover, Jones and *The Alhambra* were cited and quoted as the source of information on the Spanish palace and on Moresque architecture in the 1848 edition of the *The Dictionary of the Architectural Society* .[226] The acceptance and authority of the text in matters of polychromy, ornament, and Islamic architecture lead many to consult Jones in these areas and others, like John Ruskin, who never visited the Alhambra, spoke with confidence on the palace and the style of its architecture based on their familiarity with his findings.[227]

In addition, *The Alhambra* achieved major advances in color printing enabling architects to illustrate their arguments on polychromy and to demonstrate their designs more accurately through the addition of color.[228] Jones's success with chromolithography also launched a new industry: the production of the lavishly embellished gift book.[229] While this achievement and Jones's other publishing activities are distinct from his architecture, they are worth considering since they show Jones's tremendous capability and versatility as a designer, his polymathic interests, and his widespread respect and recognition during the thirties and forties.

The quality of Jones's work in the *Alhambra* was so extraordinary that artists, literary figures, and others interested in graphic design, petitioned him to produce title pages, designs, and sumptuous borders for their publications [Figures 57-59]. He also produced his own artistic gift books including an ornate *Psalter* for Queen

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[225]Jones made donations of casts, tracings, and texts to the Institute of British Architects, the Architectural Association, and to London University. This information is discussed in Chapter III.

[226]*The Dictionary of the Architectural Society,* London, The Architectural Publications Society, Vol. I, 1848, p. 41.

[227]Gere, *Nineteenth Century,* p. 67. Also, "denunciations of the decoration of the Alhambra in the writings of Ruskin himself, who never saw the original, but who, like everyone else, regarded Owen Jones's volumes as providing the means of making the judgment." Sweetman, p. 128.

[228]Compare the illustrations at the beginning and end of Pugin's *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament* with his earlier black and white engravings.

[229]Darby Dissertation, p. 127.

Victoria,[230] books of Psalms from the Bible, and poetry and plays by Shakespeare and others set within borders rich with color and delicate geometric or nature-inspired designs. He drew on his knowledge of medieval manuscripts, his mastery of chromolithography, and his versatility as a designer, to create the modern equivalent of the opulent ornamentation and calligraphy achieved by monks and scribes during the middle ages. These new-fashioned "illuminated" editions popularized medieval black lettering and contributed to the growing interest in calligraphy. A sampling of titles from some of his sumptuous publications includes *The Book of Common Prayer* (1845, 1846, 1850), *The Sermon on the Mount* (1844, 1845, etc.), *The Form of Solemnations of Matrimony* (1849), and M. A. Bacon's *Flowers and Their Kindred Thoughts* (1847); these gift books appealed to the Victorian penchant for moralizing and the public display of sentimentality and piety. He also designed title pages and plates for Lockhart's *Ancient Spanish Ballads* (1842, 1842, 1856); Moore's poem, *Paradise and the Peri* (1860); Humphreys's, *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* (1849), and Milman's *The Works of Quintus Horatius Flaccus* (1849). These books gratified Victorian literary and historical interests as well as the desire to amass extensive collections of expensive objects to proclaim the owner's wealth and status.[231]

Through these works, the architect made an important contribution to the state of publication and to the visual culture of Victorian Britain. Although his graphic designs and book production were renowned, he never referred to himself or wanted to be thought of as an author, designer, or publisher; he always insisted on his identity as an architect. His style of lettering, his designs, and techniques of color printing were copied extensively and sometimes carried to the overwrought excesses which characterize the High Victorian era. A comparison with his delicate and

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[230]Ruskin owned a copy of this text.

[231]"Illustrated Publications," *Chamber's Encyclopedia,* Vol. V., London, W. and R. Chambers, 1877.

elegant compositions quickly proves the superiority of Jones's eye, taste, and sense of propriety, traits that many Victorian productions lack.[232]

Jones was also involved in a variety of publications relating to architecture. In 1842, he finished the first volume of *The Plans, Sections, Elevations and Details of the Alhambra* and produced *Designs for Mosaic and Tessellated Pavements* with an essay by F. O. Ward. The next year, he prepared *Encaustic Tiles* containing "ninety-six copies of antient tiles drawn half the full size, and also designs of pavements"[233] and *Views on the Nile,* featuring drawings made by Jules Goury and himself in Egypt. He also designed and printed title pages and plates to be included in other people's works on architecture. Examples of some of these books, prepared prior to 1850, include the title and other pages for H. G. Knight's *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy* (1842, 1843), plates for Frederick Catherwood's remarkable *Views of Ancient Monuments in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan,* 1844, and E. Adams's *The Polychromatic Ornament of Italy* (1846) [Figure 59]. Furthermore, he designed plates for John Weale's *Quarterly Papers on Architecture,* one of the early professional publications, and W. R. H. Essex's *Illustrations...of the Temple Church* (1845), the subject of a major restoration effort at the time. He assisted in works on other visual arts as well; some of these include plates for C. Hayter's sixth edition of *An Introduction to Perspective, Practical Geometry, Drawing and Painting* (1845), T. Miller's *A Treatise on Water-Colour Painting* (1848), and John Weale's, *Divers Works of the Early Masters in Christian Decoration* (1846).[234]

In 1847, Jones produced another important architectural publication: the first English translation of Jean Baptiste Seroux D'Agincourt's (1730-1814) *Histoire de*

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[232]Darby discusses Jones's publications and decorative designs in *Owen Jones and the Eastern Ideal* (Vol. I, pp. 123-147). An examination of his comments and Jones's original works will be appealing to anyone with an interest in the decorative arts. For the purpose of this study, this aspect of Jones's work must be viewed as secondary to the explanation of the architecture imparted through the drawings and the text of the *Alhambra.*

[233]Owen Jones, *Encaustic Tiles,* London, 1843.

[234]Darby dissertation, pp. 498-499.

l'art par les monuments, depuis sa décadence au IVe siècle, jusqúà son renouvellement au XVIe (Paris, 1811-1823).[235] Jones's translation of this text is important to this study for three reasons: first, as a testimony to the architect's serious scholarship and as an example of one of his efforts to improve the quality of architectural education in Britain. Second, the translation suggests precedents for Jones's architectural theory, and finally, this effort, once again, demonstrates the extraordinary talents and energies which allowed Jones to undertake monumental tasks and accomplish them, substantially improved, in a remarkably brief time.

Facilities for architectural studies in Britain during the first half of the nineteenth century trailed the agencies and materials offered on the continent as noted above. Professor Cockerell called attention to one aspect of this problem in a lecture given at the Royal Academy in 1845. Cockerell noted that Gwilt's version of Vitruvius, the early translations of Palladio and Serlio, and portions of Vasari, were the exceptions to the fact that "none of the architectural classics had been published" in English.[236] The treatment of Seroux D'Agincourt's *History of Art by its Monuments, From Its Decline in the Fourteenth Century to Its Restoration in the Sixteenth* was typical of the times; Italian editions (1826-1829, and 1841) and a German translation (1840) existed, but no English translation had been attempted.[237] British architects were aware of this work, however; since the *Foreign Quarterly Review* had printed Quatremere de Quincy's discussion of it in 1831; Thomas Hope referred to it in his work in 1835;[238] Gwilt recommended it in the 1842 edition of the *Encyclopedia of Architecture,*[239] and *The Builder* printed a long summary of the text in 1845 as the first of its "Retrospective Reviews," intended

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[235]Jean-Baptiste Seroux D' Agincourt's *History of Art by Its Monuments, From Its Decline in the Fourth Century to Its Restoration in the Sixteenth,* Translated from the French by Owen Jones, 3 volumes in 1 folio, London, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1847.
[236]*The Builder,* CVII, February 22, 1845, p. 85.
[237]"D'Agincourt, Jean-Baptiste Seroux," *MacMillan Encyclopedia of Art,* pp. 489.
[238]Watkin, *Rise of Architectural History,* London, The Architectural Press, 1980.
[239]Gwilt, p. 1142.

to present "the most important doctrines" and "valuable authorities" to its readers.[240]

Anthony Vidler discusses the content and significance of Seroux D'Agincourt's expansive work in *The Writing of the Walls* in a chapter entitled "The Decline and Fall of Architecture: Style and Epoch in Gibbon and Seroux D'Agincourt." Vidler reiterates Seroux D'Agincourt's intention to pick up "the thread abandoned by Winckelmann"[241] and to fulfill "the grand but difficult idea of recovering, following, and fixing the history of the arts amid the aberrations brought in the wake of the distress of the Roman Empire, the invasion of the barbarians, the translation of the Imperial seat to Constantinople, the mixture of Asiatic taste, and, finally, the fusion of genres carried to the North by the Goths and to the South by the Arabs."[242] Vidler notes that *The History of Art* has been remembered, and criticized, as one of the first histories of the Gothic period, but he finds other aspects of the work to be of greater significance. For example, he points to the fact that between 1779 to 1814, the rich French "antiquarian and amateur of the arts" hired "generations of young *pensionnaires* at the French Academy to meticulously record monuments from every epoch" and that these students had been trained to observe historical monuments that were not classical buildings. Vidler recognized the value of this education in the work of Defourny, Legrand, Rondelet, Percier, and many others.[243]

More important for this study is the fact that Vidler pays careful attention to the historians and theorists whose influences are observable in Seroux D'Agincourt's six-volume work, beginning with the "powerful combination of aesthetic appreciation and chronological narrative" developed by Johann-Joachim Winckelmann.[244] He

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[240]"Retrospective Reviews," *The Builder*, 1845, pp. 290-292.
[241]Anthony Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls*, New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 1987, p. 175.
[242]*Ibid.*, p. 176-177.
[243]*Ibid.*, p. 176.
[244]*Ibid.*, p. 5.

notes that with Winckelmann: "The history of art became...a history of forms, whose material surfaces, masses, and contours were clues to higher ideas, inner forces, and spiritual concepts."[245] Winckelmann represented a new type of scholar: the historian-critic, whose task was "to derive from the work its own ideas, to become a connoisseur of lines and planes as the inscriptions of those ideas...to become an aesthetician of the invisible by means of abstraction from the visible."[246] The intense study of each building was accompanied by the appreciation that "each form was part of a life of forms that was itself symptomatic of the life of societies and cultures."[247] Cultures were interpreted according to the stages of development identified by Aristotle (beginning, progress, state of rest, decline, and end) and the principle of inheritance (the concept that one epoch transitions to the next, endowing the later period with elements from the former). This new approach to history, combining aesthetic judgment and chronological pattern, satisfied antiquarians and philosophers alike.

Vidler reports that Seroux D'Agincourt was explicit about his ambition to follow Winckelmann's example, vowing "to bring together philosophic vision and antiquarian knowledge in the context of a rigorous examination of the monuments" discussed[248] and testifies that the fourteen volumes of drawings used to prepare the plates for *The History of Art* "bear witness to an attention to detail and a quest for fidelity often betrayed by the small scale of the engravings themselves."[249] The plates also indicate Seroux D'Agincourt's indebtedness to Julien-David Le Roy, the antiquarian-architect who developed chronological comparisons of people and epochs, rendered to the same scale for improved comparisons and comprehension.[250]

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[245] *Ibid.*, p. 128.
[246] *Ibid.*
[247] *Ibid.*
[248] *Ibid.*, p. 176.
[249] *Ibid.*
[250] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

Seroux D'Agincourt credited Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-1788), as another model critical to his text. Gibbon's academic treatise covered the period from the age of Trajan to the Renaissance "with the same sense of decay" as the author of *The History of Art* and treated architecture as an integral component of the history.[251] Other acknowledged mentors include Montesquieu and Buffon. Montesquieu's work taught Seroux D'Agincourt to recognize differences "in climate, mores, religion, and government" as strong and inevitable influences and may have "provided a model for the systematic treatment of styles."[252] Buffon communicated the "understanding that the chronology and nature of stylistic change differ from region to region."[253]

Vidler credits Seroux D'Agincourt with recognizing and insisting that the products of the arts could only be assessed by the eyes and, therefore, that "one should only write or study their history with their different productions before one's eyes...and it was for this reason that he counted the preparation of the plates as the better part of the work," saying: "What the historians of the fine arts have been willing enough to say, I wish to *show*...it is, above all, the monuments that should speak; I have charged myself, in some way, only to write under their dictation, all the more to explain or comment on their language."[254] To this end, Seroux D'Agincourt concentrated on producing the 328 plates in his work based upon three methods of composition. The first type of plate produced a panoramic impression and a quick overview of the general characteristics of a particular style by combining plans, elevations, sections, and perspectival views of the subject on one page [Figure 60]. The second type represented "systematic" analyses of architecture through comparative plates [Figures 61 and 62]. These included plates comparing facades,

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[251] *Ibid.*, p. 177.
[252] *Ibid.*, p. 180.
[253] *Ibid.*
[254] *Ibid.*, p. 180-181.

domes, and other architectural elements or techniques of construction employed during a particular period of time. Comparative plates were also important in presenting an overview of a particular building type or stylistic system.[255] The third type of plate produced a detailed study of one monument, such as the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris [Figure 63].

The thoroughness, accuracy, and uniform scale of the 328 plates executed, comprised a work "of great importance for the historical understanding and the architectural theory of the nineteenth century."[256] The first plate depicted a collection of buildings from antiquity [Figure 60]. This compilation was followed by thirty-three plates "delineating the forms of the decadence to the beginning of the Middle Ages and fourteen exploring the Gothic." The Renaissance formed the subject of thirteen plates and the remaining thirteen plates were architectural comparisons.

Jones's relationship with the French architect Jules Goury, and his own knowledge of French, suggest the likelihood that he was aware of and endorsed Seroux D'Agincourt's ideas prior to writing his lecture on "The Influence of Religion Upon Art." The numerous examples of parallel theory between *The History of Art* and the points made in Jones's first lecture support this implication. For example, both Jones and Seroux D'Agincourt name "propriety and convenience" as first principles in architecture and consider any works erected without attention to purpose as examples of the decline of the art. Likewise, both men value architecture as a science and an art which reaches its "highest degree of perfection, in uniting the useful and agreeble."[257] Jones maintained loyality to many concepts presented in *The History of Art* which were considered important to eighteenth-century theory,

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[255] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[256] "D'Agincourt, Jean-Baptiste Seroux," *MacMillan Encyclopedia of Art*, pp. 488-9.

[257] *History of Art by Its Monuments, From Its Decline in the Fourth Century to Its Restoration in the Sixteenth*, Translated from the French by Owen Jones, 3 volumes in 1 folio, London, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1847, p. xxii.

including the cyclical progress of art through the ages and the idea that "the germ of the arts exists in every nation; but that the means employed by each, and from the degree of perfection to which they may arrive, can never be the same in consequence of the difference in climate, manners, religion, and government; the influence of which must ever be most powerful and inevitable"[258] - and most important that "imitation becomes an art whenever the means employed to obtain exactness are submitted to rules and reduced to principles."[259]

Jones's method in producing the study of the Alhambra also suggests the influence of Seroux D'Agincourt. Jones chose to introduce this particular monument and style of architecture through exacting plans, elevations, sections, and details, instead of written text, and like Seroux D'Agincourt, Jones provided a historical chronology important to understanding the work and then confined his remarks to brief comments accompanying his accomplished plates. In addition, he employed several types of plates, including overviews of all of the elements used within a particular part of the palace on one sheet [Figure 20], comparative plates composed of an assortment of arches, columns, or other architectural elements [Figure 47], and beautiful full-page engravings detailing one particular space or court [Figure 17].

Consideration of Jones's pioneering chromolithographic record of the Alhambra prompts the third reason for discussing the translation of *The History of Art* in this study: Jones's improvements to the format of the original. *The Athenaeum* compared the English edition to the original and the other translations. They praised the content of D'Agincourt's original three volumes, containing 3335 examples of measured plans and drawings, but observed that "As a work of reference...the ponderosity of the original edition was a serious inconvenience."[260] They noted that the Italian and German editions improved this defect by presenting the material in

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[258] *Ibid.*, p. xx.
[259] *Ibid*
[260] *The Athenaeum*, No. 1043, Oct. 23, 1847.

less bulky volumes than the original, but it was still necessary to have two books open at the same time in order to access the information. They concluded that Jones's edition of *The History of Art* was "superior to all its predecessors." Since

> The whole has been condensed into less than half the bulk of the original work, without reducing the size or number of the plates or depriving us of any essential point of information to be found in the foreign editions. This improvement has been effected by a *coup de metier*, or sort of editorial generalship, so ingenious and novel that we shall enter somewhat into a detailed description, in the hope that the publishers of similar works may profit by so excellent an example.
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> We begin *ab initio*--from the very pulp; for it would appear that this material of the paper on which the plates are printed had been submitted to some process by which the paper has been rendered opaque without increasing its thickness, at the same time that it has imparted an agreeable tinge of cream colour, particularly favourable to the style of the engravings. By this contrivance, every leaf bears an impression on each face, without one interfering with the other; by which device alone the 328 plates (four more than in the original edition) occupy but 164 leaves--that is to say, only two more than half the number contained in the former volumes of the plates alone. Added to this improvement is another which is a convenience in a book of reference. It is, that, with a few exceptions, the description of the plate is always found on the page opposite the plate itself;--so that, instead of having to consult another volume, as in the preceding editions, or to refer to another page, the reader has print and description before him at once. This has been effected by the insertion of a single sheet of letter-press between each sheet of illustration, and also by the occasional use of a different type to accommodate the greater or less quantity of matter. Lastly, a further reduction has been effected by the omission of the biographical notice of the author, and by a judicious condensation of the Historical Treatise and Introduction,--which, excepting for a few idiomatic peculiarities that savour of the French original, has been well executed.[261]

These beneficial editorial changes resulted in an edition which facilitated study through improvements in size and format and cost less than the foreign editions. In this way, Jones's translation can be considered a remarkable contribution to the academic resources of British architects.

The translation of the *History of Art by Its Monuments* brings this chapter full circle, since Seroux D'Agincourt's work suggests the precedent for much of the theory

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[261] *Ibid.*

presented in Jones's first lecture and publications. This chapter also introduced many of the roles Jones will continue in tandem with his architectural career: scholar, author, publisher, illustrator, and authority on color, design, and ornament. He will repeat and build upon ideas expressed in the "Influence of Religion upon Art" and in his study of the Alhambra, and will continue to work tirelessly to improve the education, the theoretical foundation, and the practice of British architecture.

CHAPTER THREE

PURSUING ARCHITECTURE:

"ARCHITECTURE IS THE MATERIAL EXPRESSION OF THE WANTS, THE FACULTIES, AND THE SENTIMENTS, OF THE AGE IN WHICH IT IS CREATED"[262]

Jones emerged as a significant figure in London's architectural community during the 1830s and 1840s.[263] In addition to his publications, he received recognition for the execution of prestigious commissions, for participation in a wide range of design competitions, and for his influence in community and professional organizations. By reviewing his role at this formative stage in England's architectural profession, his reputation and authority as an architect can be better understood and evaluated.

On finally settling in London in 1835, Jones chose to practice in one of the largest, wealthiest, and most powerful cities in the world. Although London had been one of the biggest population centers outside of China and India for centuries, increased immigration and a new population explosion resulted in the doubling of residents from approximately one million people in 1801 to more than two million people forty years later.[264] The resulting overcrowding, squalor, and unemployment made familiar through the novels of Dickens was complemented by the wealth,

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[262]Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (1868 Edition), Proposition #2, p. 5.

[263]Several historians maintain that Owen Jones waited until after the publication of *The Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra* to begin pursuing architecture. This chapter presents evidence to the contrary.

[264]L. C. B. Seaman, *Life in Victorian London*, B.T. Batsford, London, 1973, pp. 9-11.

fashion, and opulence conveyed through the works of Thackeray. London was the center of a growing empire and the financial administration of colonies in five continents.[265] Powerful, prosperous, and positive, the metropolis generated a growing demand for architects to provide new facilities on a larger scale for the increased aggregations of people and for the new functions emerging to meet rapidly changing social and recreational needs.

These demands generated pressures and modifications within the building industry and the architectural profession.[266] One obvious change was the emergence of the general contractor capable of managing large commissions and speculative ventures with a permanent workforce replacing the traditional piece-work of independent master craftsmen.[267] The contractor assumed many duties traditionally carried out by the architect forcing designers to consider their changing responsibilities and to adopt new methods in order to implement their ideas. One change involved the requirement for improved drafting skills to provide precise working drawings capable of communicating construction details and information about unfamiliar materials, apparatus, and architectural motifs to distant workmen and suppliers.[268] Advanced drafting was also necessary to prepare presentation drawings capable of transmitting the architect's scheme to anonymous decision-makers, including speculators, potential occupants, and the institutional and competition committees more frequently serving as the "client" than the former enlightened aristocratic patron.[269]

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[265] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[266] As Pevsner said in *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century,* "The term professional is used in this context advisedly; for these are the years when architecture became a profession." Pevsner, *Some Writers,* p. 79.

[267] John Wilton-Ely, *The Architect,* ed. Spiro Kostof, p. 193-5.

[268] Wilton-Ely, p. 194; Powell and Leatherbarrow, pp. 50-53.

[269] Mignot, p. 9.

Concern over these changes, the inadequacy of architectural education, the perceived inferiority of British designs, and the unscrupulous management of design competitions were some of the issues which gave impetus to strengthening the profession.[270] This resolve was manifest in the establishment of occupational associations, an increased interest and proliferation of treatises, manuals, and books on architecture, and the inception of architectural periodicals. Jones made important contributions and gained influence in each of these areas affecting the profession. He was an enthusiastic and respected member of associations concerned with design, the author of several esteemed architectural texts, and an important figure whose ideas and activities were frequently reported in both the popular press and the trade journals.

Although the Royal Academy of Arts was the official institution for all of the arts in England, it devoted relatively little attention to architecture.[271] A few architectural students "with demonstrated artistic ability" were admitted free of charge to infrequent lectures and to the evening classes in the Plaster Academy. They also enjoyed the privileges of using the library one evening per week and of competing for the institution's prized Gold and Silver Medals.[272] Practicing architects could submit drawings and models for the Academy's bi-annual exhibitions, but these entries were physically separated from the painting and sculpture displays and, therefore, received little notice from the public or press. In fact, the first media notices given to a work of architecture were bestowed on one of Jones's drawings displayed in 1839. From that point, *The Athenaeum's* reporters included commentary on the architectural submissions in their reviews; while generally complimentary to the work of Jones, they frequently disparaged the other

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[270]Simon Jervis, "A European Context, 1840-80, England," *Herter Brothers*, New York, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1994, p. 17.
[271]*Westminster Review*, American Edition: New York, Leonard Scott & Co., 1851, p. 206.
[272]Letter to C. A. Flores from A.W. Potter, Royal Academy of Arts, August 16, 1995.

architectural entries and often questioned the appropriateness of admitting architectural materials in the Academy's exhibitions.

Jones had been exhibiting at the Academy since 1831. His first presentation featured his scheme for a town hall to be built in Birmingham (#956).[273] This was probably the same design he submitted the previous year in the actual Town Hall competition.[274] His next showing was in 1835 and featured drawings from his travels in Egypt and Spain, including the Ruins of the Great Temple at Karnak (#1033) and the Entrance to the Court of Lions from the Court of the Fishponds in the Alhambra (#967). He continued displaying Alhambra material in 1838, 1839, and 1840. His 1838 entry was a model of one of the ceilings in the palace (#1349), followed the next year by the celebrated "View of the Alcove at the Upper end of the Hall of the Two Sisters in the Alhambra, looking into the Garden of Lindaraja" (#1177) which contained figures, furniture, and landscape by Louis Haghe, Jones's lithographic collaborator [Figure 64]. This scene was mentioned earlier as the first architectural submission to gain the interest and attention of the press. In fact, it was the only architectural entry to receive any comment. The *Athenaeum,* praised it for being "one of the most magnificent displays of gorgeous colour and elaborate tracing we ever saw."[275] *The Civil Engineer and Architects' Journal* concurred, saying that Jones's drawing reduced all of the other interiors to second rank.[276]

In one of the Royal Academy's 1840 exhibitions, the *Athenaeum* praised Jones's depiction of "*La Sala del Tribunal*" or the Hall of Judgment (#984) in the Alhambra with figures by Louis Haghe. This time, the critics also praised several other architectural drawings in the exhibit, but said that all of them "must yield to *La*

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[273]Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts,* Vol. IV, London, Henry Graves & Co. Ltd. and George Bell and Sons, 1906, p. 278.
[274]Unfortunately, no description or sketch of this design has been identified.
[275]*Athenaeum,* June 1, 1839, p. 418.
[276]*Civil Engineer and Architects' Journal,* June, 1839, p. 216.

Sala del Tribunal, in the Palace of the Alhambra, by O. Jones." They reviewed this work by saying that: "As a picture, the effect is powerful and harmonious; and, as an architectural illustration, we cannot sufficiently admire the patient enthusiasm which alone could have supported the artist in his laborious exertions faithfully and minutely to delineate the most intricate details of this gorgeous edifice."[277] The *Gentleman's Magazine* agreed, saying that this may have been the most elaborate drawing they had ever witnessed and described it by saying: "The splendid decorations are most brilliantly coloured after the original, giving a dazzling effect to the drawings and conveying the idea of an edifice which, but for these illustrations, we should have imagined only to have existed in the pages of fiction."[278] Jones also submitted competition designs in 1840: an exterior (#979) and an interior (#1046) for St. George's Hall, Liverpool. Both *The Athenaeum* and the *Gentleman's Magazine* praised the originality of these designs.[279] Other appraisals were not as positive, however, and are included later in this text in the discussion concerning the competition.[280]

His next Academy exhibition was in 1845 when he displayed designs for a villa in Queen's Road, Kensington (#1235) and a Dairy for J.J. Morrison, Esq. (#1273). *The Builder's* commentary on the "more prominent exhibitors" noted that Jones's Villa looked better in execution than in the illustration, but applauded his scheme for the Ornamental Cottage and Dairy.[281] The *Athenaeum*, again, praised his originality and discussed the Dairy by saying that "Though the design is of unusual character there is nothing extravagant or forced about it, nothing of an exotic look; the composition is simple but effective and picturesque, the two portions well

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[277] *Athenaeum*, May 30, 1840, p. 436.
[278] *Gentlemen' Magazine*, CLXVIII, 1840, p. 69.
[279] *Ibid.*
[280] *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, 1840, p. 188.
[281] *The Builder*, May 17, 1845, p. 229.

grouped together, the little terrace quite alluring, in short, we cannot better express our opinion of it than by terming it a pleasing architectural Anacreonatic." However, they did criticize the upper portion of the dove house as inconsistent with the rest and the open-work vergeboards to the gable of the cottage as "too meagre and wiry."[282]

Jones's last representations in Royal Academy of Arts exhibitions occurred in 1860 and 1861. These featured illustrations of two of his well-known shop interiors: Osler's Gallery (#691, 1860) and Hancock's of Bruton Street (#685, 1861). Fortunately, a watercolor by Jones of the interior of Osler's Gallery survives; the size and artistry of this drawing suggests that it may have been the entry [Figure 160] displayed.[283] This rendering shows the skill and drama of Jones's drawings and demonstrates the reason his entries attracted media attention and gained recognition of the improved delineating abilities evident in the architectural displays at the Royal Academy. This drawing is executed in the large-scale presentation format initially preferred by French architects and introduced to the profession in England by Owen Jones and Lewis Vuillamy.[284]

While exhibitions were important in calling attention to advances in architecture, another major aspect of practice which developed at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the use of competitions to determine the designs and designers for the new public buildings being erected throughout Britain.[285] *The Builder* reported over twenty-five hundred competitions between 1843 and 1900, or an average of nearly one per week for fifty-seven years.[286] These contests are

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[282]*Athenaeum*, May 17, 1845, p. 215.
[283]Prints and Drawings, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.
[284]*The Architectural Magazine*, Vol. II, London, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, and Weale, 1835, p. 313; see also, Darby, *Islamic Perspective*, p. 62.
[285]Powell and Leatherbarrow, p. 52.
[286]Roger Harper, *Victorian Architectural Competitions*, London, Mansell Publishing Limited, 1983, p. xi.

characteristic of many aspects of the age, including the increased demand for new buildings and the shift of financial and economic power to committees composed of townsmen or parishioners. They also reflect the frailty of the profession, which was not able to influence or regulate the rules of these contests or advise on the appropriateness of the designs submitted.[287]

In *Victorian Architectural Competitions,* Roger Harper explains that frequent problems arose from incomplete or ambiguous instructions and changes in the rules occurring sometimes half-way through a contest. More serious issues involved unethical actions by committees who reversed previously announced decisions or gave commissions to unsuccessful candidates instead of the contest winner. This usually indicated that the committee wanted an architect they could dominate instead of an unpredictable or strong contest winner. Frequently, committees selected ideas from several entries and then commissioned their own architect to combine these elements into a new design.[288]

Competition submissions involved considerable preparation time without compensation. Awards given to the winners were usually tokens of recognition, or the first installment in the commission fee, instead of remuneration for the time and expense required to produce the entry. On the positive side, competitions provided opportunities for new and unknown architects to gain recognition and establish practice. They also sponsored the dissemination of the latest architectural thinking by publicizing information on the design schemes proposed.[289]

Owen Jones participated in a variety of open and invitational competitions throughout his career (APPENDIX A) and his designs were usually distinguished from the other entries by the talent, effort, and originality they displayed. Although reviews were not always favorable, the individual notice which Jones received and

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[287] *The Builder,* May 8, 1847, v. 5, p. 213.
[288] Roger Harper, pp. xiii-xiv.
[289] *Ibid.*

the tenor of the remarks endorse his prominence and distinctive ability. Unfortunately, no report has been found of his first competition entry: his 1830 scheme for the Birmingham Town Hall.[290] Jones may have produced this design under Vuillamy's supervision and may have displayed the scheme in the Royal Academy exhibition to serve the dual intention of gaining recognition and establishing himself in practice and in the profession.

Documentation does exist on his entry into the infamous 1839 competition for St. George's Hall, Liverpool. This contest involved a new type of building, a large public concert hall to house the city's triennial music festivals. The Mayor of Liverpool, W.W. Currie, Esq., established a competition committee for the building in the autumn of 1836 and initiated a subscription campaign to raise the necessary funding. By January 1837, twenty-three thousand, three hundred and fifty pounds had been raised through the sale of shares at twenty-five pounds each. The name of St. George's Hall was agreed upon and a site selected. This site received a foundation stone in the following year to mark the coronation of Queen Victoria.[291]

The design competition was finally announced on March 5, 1839. The advertisement in *The Times* informed the public and prospective designers that the total sum to be expended for the new edifice would not exceed thirty thousand pounds.[292] Promised awards to competitors included two hundred and fifty guineas for the best design and one hundred and fifty guineas for the second best. Over eighty entries were received and the committee selected the twenty-five year old Harvey Lonsdale Elmes (1814-1849) and George Alexander as the first and second place winners.

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[290]The details of this competition and the submitted entries have not been identified. The winners, Joseph Aloysius Hansom and E. Welch, produced a design described as "Roman Corinthian."

[291]Loraine Knowles, *St. George's Hall, Liverpool*, Merseyside, National Museums & Galleries, 1988, 4.

[292]*Ibid.*, p. 6.

Elmes also won the Liverpool Assize Courts competition the following year. When financial problems threatened the concert hall, the committee for the hall joined the law courts' committee and agreed to combine the two facilities into one building, still to be named St. George's Hall. Elmes was given the commission to design this new structure and produced his plan in 1841. The building was not complete by the time of his death in 1847, however, and Sir Robert Rawlinson, followed by C. R. Cockerell, succeeded him in finishing the building.[293] When finally concluded in 1854, the building had cost over three hundred thousand pounds and was described by Hitchcock as "the latest of the major Romantic Classical monuments of England."[294] The story of this contest has been cited as an example of "the glaring mismanagment of national competitions" during the last century since the design, program, and budget underwent several major changes, and the final building bore almost no relation to the initial scheme which architects were asked to design.[295]

Jones's submission in the original competition drew mixed reviews. He proposed a heavily-corniced oblong structure with semi-circular windows and a decorative frieze inscribed "FREEDOM OF DEBATE, POLITICAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND MORAL."[296] *The Athenaeum* review, mentioned earlier, lauded the inventiveness of his scheme, finding his design more original than George Alexander's second place entry. *The Athenaeum* also admired Jones's attempt to design according to "higher principles" than his peers, but felt that these principles had been "imperfectly carried out."[297] The *Gentlemen's Magazine* also praised the singularity of Jones's design. Their critic said his Italian exterior had merit, but disapproved of the

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[293]Knowles, pp. 6-14.
[294]Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,* Hammondsworth, Middlesex, Penguin Books, 1987, p. 111.
[295]Wilton-Ely, p. 199.
[296]*The Building News,* July 10, 1874, p. 51.
[297]*Athenaeum,* May 30, 1840, p. 436.

interior saying that "The rich decorations, the painted roof, and the slendor [sic] columns, shew [sic] that the architect seems to have been imbued with a love for his favourite Alhambra" and felt that the building was "much too fantastic for execution."[298] *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* rejected the design for being "in a sort of Alhambra-fashion, but after such fashion as to give us what is offensive in it, without what renders it charming."[299] The design was included in the exhibition of his work assembled after his death and received the scorn of *The Builder's* reviewer who commented that the people of Liverpool could be thankful for having escaped that scheme.[300] Since this remark was written more than three decades after the initial design was produced, there is a possibility that the critic's reaction may indicate a change in taste rather than inferiority in the design.

Jones's work in Spain probably prevented him from participating in the most important design competition in the earliest part of the nineteenth century: the 1835 contest to select the architect for the new Houses of Parliament.[301] He did enter the subsequent competition held in 1844 presenting designs and materials for use in decorating the interiors of the new Palace of Westminster.[302] In this contest, he took the unique and ambitious approach of submitting a detailed plan, drawn on a scale of three inches to ten feet, for all of the principal floors in the palace.[303] He provided samples of encaustic tiles and British marbles from Staffordshire and Derbyshire to be used in implementing his scheme. Marble was specified in the halls and galleries, encaustic tiles and porcelain mosaics were to be used in corridors, inlaid woodwork was intended for other rooms, and "asphalte" for the open

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298 *Gentlemen' Magazine,* CLXVIII, 1840, p. 69.
299 *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal,* 1840, p. 188.
300 *The Builder,* July 18, 1874, p. 600.
301 Harper, p. 89.
302 Announcement by the Royal Commission of Fine Arts requesting designs for ornamental pavements for the Palace of Westminster to be sent in by March 1, 1844. *The Builder,* 1843, p. 320.
303 *The Illustrated London News,* April 27, 1844, p. 266.

courts.[304] His huge plan, approximately twenty-five feet by twelve feet, was hailed in *The Athenaeum* as the only submission which gave the commissioners and the architect, Sir Charles Barry, any valuable assistance on what ought to be done in the building.[305]

In a later issue, *The Athenaeum* lauded the comprehensiveness of this plan calling it "one of the most attractive features of the Exhibition."[306] The reviewer said several of Jones's floor patterns showed "great beauty and appropriateness; those especially (No. 89) for the landing of the Peers' private staircase, and the gallery of the Speaker's house. In these, as in others, Mr. Jones shows that his invention can employ and create other forms than those of a purely Moorish character."[307] Ironically, *The Builder* described the same design, (#89), as "Rather in the Moresco style"[308] and, in a subsequent issue, said that Jones "has hardly been able to throw off" "his acquaintance with Moresco patterns" and they doubted "whether any part of his elaborate design is altogether free from a Moresco appearance."[309] As a result, they expressed "considerable doubt whether any part of it would be apropriate just as it is."[310] These remarks suggest the possibility, advanced by Hitchcock, that although Jones was an "original designer," his work was frequently misinterpreted as "Moorish Revival" because of his association with *The Plans, Sections, Elevations, and Details of the Alhambra.*[311] *The Alhambra,* and the images taken from that text sold separately, introduced abstract designs within the context of Arabic ornamentation; therefore, it is understandable, but

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304*Ibid.* and *Athenaeum,* #862, May 4,1844, p. 410.
305*Athenaeum,* #861, 1844, p. 387.
306*Ibid.,* #862, p. 410. The "Exhibition" referred to is the display of the competition entries for the New Houses of Parliament in St. James 's Bazaar, King Street, St. James, opened in April, 1844.
307*Ibid.,* p. 410.
308*The Builder,* May 18, 1844, p. 247.
309*Ibid.,* June 1, 1844, p. 271.
310*Ibid.*
311Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture,* p. 37.

unfortunate, that two-dimensional pattern became confused as a symbol of exotic, Moorish design, instead of being perceived as an appropriate, universal method of creating pattern. This argument is supported by the fact that *The Times* described Design No. 89 as "very chaste, and remarkable for the brilliancy of the effect as well as the purity of the devices." *The Times* reporter also stated that "A flooring of this sort would add greatly to the general effect of any Gothic interior and is particularly well adapted for the noble building now in process of being erected."[312] Likewise, *The Illustrated London News* described the "geometrical combinations" in Jones's designs as "very beautiful, and the colours extremely gorgeous."[313] *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* simply described No. 89 as "most laborious" and said they did not like Jones's floor patterns as well as many other designs which they had seen by him.[314] The 1959 edition of *The Oxford History of English Art* reports that some of the designs Jones submitted to the 1844 exhibition were used for the floors of Westminster,[315] but no other documentation has been found to corroborate this statement. It does appear that Barry and Pugin may have accepted Jones's recommendations of particular materials for specific areas, since the floor materials incorporated in the building match Jones's plan. It is also possible that Pugin may have followed the scale and coloring of Jones's patterns in creating his own floor patterns.

Jones's next competition represents the other end of the spectrum of public architecture. This contest, sponsored by the newly-formed Committee of the Association for the Construction of Baths and Wash-houses for the Labouring Classes, sought plans and estimates from architects willing to design and erect the

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312"Exhibition of Decorative Works at King Street. St. James," *The Times,* April 29, 1844.
313*The Illustrated London News,* April 27, 1844, p. 266.
314*Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal,* April, 1844, p. 175.
315*The Oxford History of English Art,* ed. T.S.R. Boase, Vol. X, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1959, p. 196.

first public baths in London.[316] The twenty-two proposals received projected costs between 6,800*l.* to 20,000*l.* Jones's estimates were the third highest at 16,500*l.*, considerably above the average estimate of 11,957*l.* and the winner's 11,700*l.* projection.[317]

This time the competition committee was criticized for the decision to detain the drawings, without explanation, for a period of time before returning them to the competitors. The selection committee also refused to allow the participating architects and the public to inspect the proposals.[318] Protest over this decision caused the committee to reverse their decision and to arrange an exhibition of the submissions. In reviewing the entries displayed, *The Builder* noted that *"not one of the designs agreed in all respects with the published instructions."* Unfortunately, Jones's work was not singled out for comment apart from the fact that he, Lee and Burnett, and William Brooks and Son, each submitted two completely different schemes.[319]

Commissions for another building type, the prestigious private London clubs, received substantial press coverage and were eagerly sought by prominent nineteenth century architects. *The Builder* reported that the competition for a new building for the Army and Navy Club was particularly significant since "competitions have either been confined amongst a few selected individuals, or been comparatively unimportant" in the years following the contest for the Royal Exchange. In addition, the magazine noted that the Army and Navy Club offered "great scope for embellishment" with an adequate budget for that purpose plus a site, which although it required "the full exercise of skill in arrangement, was favorable to the display of art." Jones, Anthony Salvin (winner of the 1844 contest

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316*The Builder,* Volume II, 1844, p. 529, 588, 612 January 11, 1845, p. 13.
317*Ibid.,* May 15, 1845, p. 122.
318*Ibid.,* February 22, 1845, p. 88.
319*Ibid.,* March 15, 1845, p. 122.

for the Carlton Club's alterations), Lewis Vuillamy, G. G. Scott, and sixty-five others submitted designs which *The Builder's* reporter summarized by saying that "some call for high praise, and a large portion, in some point or other, are well worthy of examination"; he also observed that they gave "evidence of considerable advance in architectural taste."[320]

Criticism, however, was levelled on the committee of Club members who were not trained in the practice of architecture and, therefore, according to *The Builder* were incapable of understanding the plans, sections, elevations, and perspectives submitted, resulting in an inequitable and unsatisfactory decision. On the other hand, the committee felt that by requiring anonymity in the submission of designs and asking the Club's membership to vote on the entries, the best design selection would be achieved.[321]

The entrants chose mottoes, such as "Incognito" and "Pro Patria Semper," or visual symbols such as a "gilt crown" or a "*Triangle within a circle*" to mark their drawings. A few, including Jones, used literary quotations to designate their submissions. Jones chose the following quotation from Shakespeare:

> When we mean to build
> We first survey the plot, then draw the model,
> And when we see the figure of the house
> Then must we rate the cost of the erection. [*HENRY IV, Part II, Act I, Sc.* III, 41-44.]

This particular selection may have been the young architect's subtle criticism of architectural competitions since the play, *Henry IV, Part II,* involves intrigue and conspiracy.[322] In this instance, the selection may have also been prophetic, since *The Builder* reported that several architects did compromise the contest by revealing

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[320] *Ibid.*, May 8, 1847, p. 213.

[321] *Ibid.*

[322] *Henry IV,* Part II, Act I, Sc. III, lines 41-44. I am grateful to Dr. Annibel Jenkins, Professor Emeritus, Georgia Institute of Technology for locating this quotation in Shakespeare's work.

their identities and soliciting club members for votes.[323] The committee came under further attack for rejecting all of the original submissions and inviting only six of the contestants to provide new designs to satisfy the changed criteria of a larger, improved site and an increased budget.

Ironically, *The Civil Engineer and Architects Journal* applauded this decision saying that the original designs were "far below the proper standard, and we are glad to perceive that the Committee have had the good sense not to carry out those which received the prizes."[324] *The Athenaeum* had been critical of the winning entries saying that "After the selection made by this Club of two designs as the 'most approved' of those submitted to the members for their new building, no architect need henceforth plume himself on obtaining a premium at competition." They continued with "It goes far to confirm Sir Richard Morrison's assertion, that from a number of drawings offered on such occasions he has frequently known the worst to be chosen."[325]

The Athenaeum reviewer also castigated Jones's submission with the comment that three or four of the entrants had "pronounced their own rejection at once on account of the singularly inappropriate style adopted. Among these latter are two or three Gothic designs--one by Mr. Scott; and one in the Alhambra style by Mr. Owen Jones."[326] *The Builder* agreed, accusing the architect of not being able to forget the Alhambra, and submitting "a clever attempt to reproduce that style."[327] The reviewer went on to say that Jones's design seemed to neglect the plan, with the exception of the mosaic pavements, and suggested that construction problems might be caused by the angle of the building's overhangs.[328]

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[323] *The Athenaeum*, May 1, 1847, pp. 473.
[324] *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, June 1847, p. 173.
[325] *The Athenaeum*, May 8, 1847, pp. 496-7.
[326] *Ibid*
[327] *The Builder*, 1847, p. 214.
[328] *Ibid.*

Jones's scheme proposed a considerably smaller structure than most of the other entries. Likewise, his projected cost of twenty-seven thousand six hundred and twenty-four pounds was also one of the lowest estimates.[329] Since reduced scale and economy are not characteristic of his work, this particular entry may indicate that he was more sincere in submitting a design capable of being realized within the committee's 30,000*l.* budget than many of the other presenters. Most of the architects simply entered 30,000*l.* for their estimate which may indicate that they focused on winning the competition through impressive designs without considering the cost.[330]

Jones's other competition entries occur after his revolutionary interior scheme for the Crystal Palace at the Great Exhibition of 1851. These include major contests for the Exhibition Building at the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition (1856), the St. Pancras Hotel (1865), and for the National Gallery (1866), and will be discussed later. In the meantime, his submissions in the contests of the 1830's and 1840's can be assessed for significant information about an architect emerging in a growing and unstable profession within a mushrooming and unpredictable environment. First, his entries are those of an architect eager to tackle larger structures and new types of buildings. They also reveal his participation in all aspects of architecture from the challenge of difficult site planning, to the adoption of new materials, and the development of new decoration. The number of competitions which he entered while producing his publication on the Alhambra and carrying out commissions, demonstrates the high level of energy and commitment which prompted him to submit a plan for all of the floors in the Palace of Westminster when the design of only one floor would have sufficed and to submit two completely different schemes for the baths and wash-houses.

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[329]Only five entries proposed smaller buildings and only five schemes projected lower costs.
[330]*Army and Navy Club Catalogue,* April 10, 1847.

While these characteristics may have been seen as positive or neutral aspects of his entries, other factors may have contributed to negative results. The most obvious concern is the matter of style. Style was a major consideration to local citizen committees charged with expressing the importance and progress of their institutions and regions. The weight of their new power and responsibilites usually resulted in conservative decisions to avoid unnecessary risk and ridicule. As a result, most committeemen, like Ruskin, wanted "no new style of architecture," but chose familiar classical motifs invested with the prestige and status of history.[331] In the contests Jones entered, the winning styles were classical: Corinthian columns were featured in the selected schemes for the Birmingham Town Hall[332] and St. George's Hall, Liverpool,[333] and Italian Renaissance was chosen for the Army and Navy Club. Although Jones was capable of creating classical designs,[334] he tried to introduce originality and new concepts whenever possible. His unfamiliar motifs were probably misunderstood and distrusted by committees uninformed about architecture and design.

Just as his bold ideas and unconventional elements may have challenged conservative committees, his exceptional artistic talent may have threatened them. In *Masterpieces of Architectural Drawing,* Helen Powell and David Leatherbarrow discuss the phenomena of nineteenth century competition juries rejecting stylish and exaggerated perspectives as unfair, since the judges felt that elaborate rendering techniques were a distraction from the real merits of the designs produced and resulted in an inequality among entries.[335] In the same vein, some competition instructions stipulated that all designs and plans should be submitted in black and

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331 *Romantic Age,* ed. Boris Ford, p. 193.
332 *Ibid.*, p. 193.
333 *Penny Magazine,* v. 10, Dec. 25, 1841, p. 498.
334 Jones's proficiency with classical architecture is evident in his Wimborne House commission and in his classical drawings in the V&A, Prints and Drawings Department.
335 Helen Powell and David Leatherbarrow, *Masterpieces of Architectural Drawing,* p. 53.

white to reduce the influence of color upon jurists. As a result, Jones's exceptional proficiency in color renderings, singled out for praise in the architectural magazines, may have harmed him in contention. In short, his work may have been too new, too "fantastic," and too sophisticated to reassure and satisfy the jurists in the contests he entered.

Although Jones did not win any of the competitions he entered, he still launched a successful practice during the thirties and forties garnering interesting, substantial, and often unusual, projects. One of his earliest patrons was the revered John H. Somerset, 7th Duke of Beaufort, who purchased #22 Arlington Street, Piccadilly, in 1837, for his town residence and entered immediately upon a campaign to transform the house previously victimized by "the upholsterer and painter" into a city palace worthy for a patron of the arts and member of the House of Lords.[336] William Kent had designed the house in 1740 for the then Prime Minister, Henry Pelham. After Kent's death in 1748, his assistant, Stephan Wright, succeeded him on the commission, but the building and improvements were not reported as finished until 1778. The Seventh Duke purchased the house in 1840 and engaged Owen Jones and the fresco painter, Edward Latilla, to implement an extensive redecoration of the interior.

Latilla is credited with executing his formula for a silica-based fresco paint which he called "encaustic" in the entrance hall and banqueting room. Renaissance-derived motifs were used in the hall and Pompeian ornamentation in the banqueting room. Jones produced a unique drawing room "nearly all gold and silver" with bright blue walls displaying fleur-de-lis and the story of Mary, Queen of Scots, "in a style somewhat of the time of Henry the Fourth." The usually critical *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* described this scheme as "of a most gorgeous character," and

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336 *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* , July, 1840, p. 226.

of "admirable" effect.[337] Unfortunately, the subsequent owner of Beaufort House, the eleventh Duke of Hamilton, replaced all of the existing decoration with a scheme based on William Kent's work at 44 Berkeley Square.[338] As a result, the twentieth century historians such as Nicholas Pevsner and E. Beresford Chancellor who describe Jones's extant work in #22 Arlington Street are incorrect, since none of his work survived.

Although Chancellor is wrong in this respect, his assertion that Jones was appointed to design and superintend the decoration may be correct and suggests a logical *scenario*. Jones may have created all of the designs and Latilla executed them. Evidence to support this contention is suggested by the fact that Latilla appeared confused over the styles implemented. He described his Pompeian banqueting room as in the "Greek taste" and states that he "applied the Greek principle of colour to an extent that in description might alarm, though as a whole, it has received the approbation of many of the first artists and men of taste."[339] Jones has been credited with instigating and introducing the use of stronger colors to England in the early part of the last century. His expertise in this area and the fact that he was the first person to execute an accurate depiction of Greek polychromy in England, suggests the possibility that Jones devised the designs and palette which Latilla painted.[340] Likewise, Jones was probably not responsible for any of the figural images, since he was reported to have "never mastered the figure" and in other instances, such as book designs, the figural images were usually executed by someone else.[341] Even if Jones did not develop the total decorative scheme, his

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[337] *Ibid.*, July, 1840, p. 226.

[338] Darby dissertation, p. 150.

[339] "The Duke of Beaufort's Mansion," *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, July 1840, pp. 226-7.

[340] The Greek Court in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham (1854) is considered the first example of Greek polychromy to be executed in England.

[341] Darby dissertation, p. 151.

magnificent drawing room would have earned him considerable prestige and attention.

While the Seventh Duke of Beaufort chose dignified, historic Arlington Street for his town residence, many wealthy Londoners were moving to new suburbs or to new terraced housing in the West End. The growth in industry and trade was beginning to produce more people who had earned wealth and status from income rather than inheritance.[342] Many of these *nouveau riche* were anxious to claim their recent status, but were uncomfortable about moving too aggressively into areas previously reserved for the aristocracy. Speculators and developers recognized an opportunity to build single-class residential areas to accommodate the new upper and middle classes. These new-fashioned developments became so stratified that by mid-century a person's street address communicated both economic and social standing along with the geographical location. Jones was involved as architect in several of these residential projects, including one of the most ambitious schemes: the development of Kensington Palace Gardens.

The idea for this scheme originated with a commission appointed by the Treasury in January 1838 to review the management of the Royal Gardens.[343] In March, the commissioners recommended replacing several kitchen gardens with one large plot at Frogmore and financing the development of this new area and other gardens by leasing the former grounds as building lots; the kitchen gardens at Kensington Palace were to be part of this scheme. The Treasury asked the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to analyze the committee's findings and determine if sufficient funds could be generated to carry out the proposed scheme.

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342 *The Times London History Atlas*, ed. by Hugh Clout, London, Times Books, 1994, p. 84.

343 "The committee was composed of two Members of Parliament and the Treasurer to the Royal Household, who were assisted by Dr. John Lindley, secretary to the Royal Horticultural Society, Joseph Paxton, the Duke of Devonshire's gardener, and John Wilson, the Earl of Surrey's gardener. "*The Crown Estate in Kensington Palace Gardens,*" *Survey of London,* Vol. XXXVII, London, The Athlone Press, 1973, p. 151.

The Commissioners responded in September 1840 with their acceptance of the committee's recommendations and suggested a layout of building plots prepared by Thomas Chawner, one of the Crown's surveyors. This plan transformed the original gardens, part of the "wilderness" laid out by Queen Anne, and some undeveloped land near the palace, into generous lots of approximately an acre aligned along a private road, seventy feet wide, and over one-half mile in length. The new road would be called the Queen's Road (now Kensington Palace Gardens) and would connect Bayswater Road on the north with Kensington High Street on the south [Figure 65].

(Sir) James Pennethorne (1801-1871) and Chawner submitted the final scheme in January 1842. This plan provided sewers and featured lodges and gates with liveried attendants at both entrances to the new road to keep the houses "select and private."[344] The concept of a cloistered domain adjacent to the palace appealed to the Commissioners who thought this scheme would attract "the cream of would-be purchasers and produce something above the normal villa average" in revenues.[345] Initially, the Commissioners considered restricting the leasing of plots to the thirteen lots at the northern end of the development, since these were felt to be "the most eligible & likely to be taken by a superior class of tenants." Once these were leased, the Commissioners thought the value of the rest of the development would escalate. Applications were received from "Thomas Cubitt (who was willing to undertake the whole or any part of the development); Matthew and Thomas Henry Wyatt, the architects; and William Woods, builder, in association with the architect John Pink,"[346] but the Commissioners preferred "persons applying to build houses

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344 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII,. 154.

345 "If all thirty-three plots were let at the minimum rents proposed the estate would have yielded an annual revenue of over two thousand three hundred pounds," "Gilded Preserves for the Rich, Kensington Palace Gardens." Mark Girouard, *Country Life*, Nov. 11, 1971, p. 1269, and *Survey*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 153.

346 *Survey*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 154.

for their own occupation." Consequently, they advertised the scheme in February 1842, but they reported to the Treasury that they "did not receive any offer which we felt ourselves at liberty to entertain." The rents advertised apparently were too high to attract interest.[347]

In July 1842 Samuel West Strickland of Bayswater applied to lease three adjoining lots along the Uxbridge Road (now Bayswater) at rents below the rates advertised. The Commissioners accepted his proposal and Strickland built "one detached and two pairs of semi-detached houses (Nos. 1-5 Kensington Palace Gardens)."[348]

Fourteen months later (September 1843), John Marriott Blashfield of Upper Stamford Street, Blackfriars, made a liberal offer to lease at least twenty of the lots at a rent not to exceed one thousand eight hundred seventy pounds per year. Although Blashfield, a partner in the large firm of Wyatt and Parker, manufacturers of cement, scagliola, and mosaic pavements, had no experience as a developer, Chawner and Pennethorne recommended his acceptance, since they felt that if the plots were let separately to individual parties, they would probably "not be disposed of under three years and that the rents to be derived from them would not exceed the graduated scale proposed" by Blashfield. In addition, Blashfield's tender exceeded the minimum rental desired on the twenty plots by more than two hundred pounds per year.

The Commissioners made a counter-offer on September 25 and the manufacturer of inlaid and tessellated pavements accepted their terms on the 27th. In the official contract, signed in July 1844, Blashfield agreed to build twenty-one houses at a cost exceeding sixty-three thousand pounds within the next five years. He also agreed that six houses would be roofed within the first year and a total of

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347 *Ibid.*, pp. 154-5.
348 *Ibid.*

thirteen houses would be built within the first three years. This agreement also stipulated exteriors "faced either with cement coloured and jointed to imitate stone, or with best malms or other facing bricks dressed with stone or cement."[349] In addition, the plots, of nearly an acre each, had to be landscaped and surrounded by a short wall topped with an iron railing and accessed through iron gates. Finally, all designs had to be submitted to the Commissioners for approval. In exchange, Blashfield could sell the gravel which he excavated in building foundations and would only owe a peppercorn for rent on the properties in the first year.

Blashfield had not waited until the contract was signed before proceeding. He had secured the services of Owen Jones as Architect-Agent for the project and accepted designs by Jones and others for execution[350] [Figure 66]. He had also produced a prospectus (APPENDIX B), listing Jones as Agent, and inviting offers for his building lots, but informed the Commissioners in June 1844, that "There is scarcely a London Builder of any eminence to whom I have not offered plots of ground, at a rent in many instances as low as that which I shall have to pay; but from the uncertain state in which matters stand relative to the opening of the road and the very stringent covenants contained in my agreement none of them will have anything to do with it."[351] Nevertheless, Blashfield got six houses started in 1844 and sold six lots in 1845.

In 1846, Blashfield was forced to petition the Commissioners to extend his peppercorn rent since he had spent over sixty thousand five hundred dollars on the first houses and improvements and no house had sold. Forty-two thousand six hundred pounds of his investment was mortgaged and the profits from the sale of

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[349] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

[350] In addition to the Kensington Palace Garden project, Jones and Blashfield shared an interest in tiles. Jones brought samples of Alhambra tiles back to the manufacturer in 1837 and produced a book for him, entitled *Designs for mosaic and tesselated pavements*, in 1842. Later, when Blashfield became "the principal terra-cotta manufacturer in the country," his catalogues featured vases, urns, and architectural elements designed by Jones.

[351] *Survey*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 157-8.

lots and the gravel were insufficient to pay the interest due. By 1847, he was declared bankrupt. The property was put up at auction in August of that year, but no lots sold. One house, No. 24 by Owen Jones, was the only sale, at three thousand four hundred pounds - a price well below its estimated value and the nine thousand pounds Blashfield had spent on its construction[352].

Jones produced two designs for houses in Kensington Palace Gardens: Numbers 8 and 24.[353] Blashfield submitted the first scheme to the Commissioners on October 6, 1843. This plan projected a substantial three-storey, five-bay Italianate villa ornamented with a four-storey tower on the garden facade [Figures 67 and 70]. The front elevation [Figures 71 and 72] was symmetrical with two projecting bays flanking a three-bay entrance loggia; the roof of this loggia doubled as a balcony to the first floor.[354] The other first floor rooms had balconies also. The garden facade repeated the idea of recessing the three central bays, this time connecting them with a balcony. For the entrance, the loggia, the first floor openings, and the third and fourth storey windows in the tower Jones chose the round-headed windows Barry popularized in his Italian Revival designs. But to the side arches, he added a small central cusp motif above each arch, while to the central arcade of three arches on the front facade he added decoration in the spandrel of the arches. The remaining third storey windows were unadorned rectangles in the new double-sash arrangement. A frieze, cornice, pierced parapet, and two extraordinarily tall chimneys completed the front facade; the garden facade was finished with a terrace which extended the length of the main building and provided access to the garden.

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[352]*Ibid.*, p. 183.

[353]He displayed a drawing of the garden elevation of No. 8 at the International Exhibition of 1862. *Survey*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 163.

[354]Called the "second floor" in the United States.

While the form of the house clearly derives from an Italian villa, the ornamentation involves Jones's unique blending of various motifs to produce a "modern" composite. The geometrically-patterned parapets and unusual cusps above the round-arched windows suggest Middle Eastern influence,[355] but the cornice, pilasters, the plinth-orb-obelisk combinations in the parapets, and familiar elements like urns and acanthus leaves, are classical. Other elements include deep Italianate brackets and corbels in the stringcourse and on the tower in keeping with the style of the house, while the dressings around the windows, on the arcade, and in the frieze, are stylized natural elements presented in the same flowing and accretive manner as Jones's concurrent book designs and illuminations, which add a distinctly Moroccan/Spanish quality to the house.

On October 13, 1843, Chawner and Pennethorne reviewed the plans and elevations for the Commissioners. Their report indicated that the projected house was larger than they had anticipated and that Jones had provided two entrances when they had visualized only one. They also informed the Commissioners that:

> As regards the elevations: we have to observe that from the general forms, and the richness of the ornament the design will probably produce an appearance equal to that originally intended for this site and *we* do not feel that *we* ought to object to the peculiarity of the proposed Moresque enrichments though hitherto not much adopted in this country... but we think Mr. Blashfield may be advised to reconsider the details' ('and to substitute others more classical' deleted). 'The tower', they continued, 'may produce a picturesque effect and the tall chimney is we understand intended, by raising the flues above the level of the tower, to prevent smoke, but we think that this part of the design may be improved.[356]

The Commissioners forwarded these observations to Blashfield who responded:

> The Moresque ornament of the windows might be removed (probably with advantage) by a stroke of the pencil the design would then be strictly Italian

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[355]"Mr. Owen Jones, who has introduced into ornamental details some that are borrowed from 'Alhambra' patterns, but of course with considerable modification," *THE BRITISH ALMANACfor the Society of the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 1846*, p. 245.

[356]Darby Dissertation, p. 169.

> and as *I wish*. The chimney stack at the angle of the tower does not at all please me and I objected to it at first but Mr. Owen Jones feared having a tower without the chimney so managed we should have all the rooms smokey or require trine tunnels to them as they have at Trentham Hall where Mr. Barry has erected a similar tower.[357]

The fact that the tower and the cusps were not changed to please the Commisioners and the developer was probably, as Mark Girouard surmises, the result of Jones's determination.[358]

The Commissioners also remarked on Jones's designs for the entrance gates, lamps and palisading, which they described as having been:

> designed in the Moresque style to correspond with the house and shews as if intended for four plots. We understand Mr. Blashfield wishes to apply it to all the plots let to him on both sides of the Queen's Road intending to produce an effect by its extent, massiveness, and its peculiarity of design - We think the effect will be good of making the iron railing altogether of one pattern, and the design submitted cannot fail to produce a rich effect though [its regular irregularities deleted] not altogether in accordance with hitherto approved models.[359]

Although Blashfield replied that the iron railing was "not as good in drawing as it will be in execution," it was never built; a design by Wyatt and Brandon was erected instead. The Commissioners overall assessment of the plans for Number 8 concluded by saying that "the specification described work as usually executed in a 'first rate' house."[360]

While the removal of cusps over the windows and substituting balustrades for pierced pararpets on the exterior would have ensured a classical facade, the interior was a different matter. The ground floor's decoration was lavish and clearly derived from Jones's appreciation and study of the Alhambra. Brightly colored tile dados decorated one room and ornamental tiles paved the entrance hall, the central stairs,

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[357] *Ibid.*, p. 170.
[358] Girouard, "Gilded Preserves for the Rich: Kensington Palace Gardens, II," *Country Life*, Nov. 18, 1971, p. 1270.
[359] Darby dissertation, p. 170.
[360] *Ibid.*

and the exterior terrace [Figures 73 and 74]. The use of the tiles on the terrace in this manner may have been new in England, since it drew comment and praise for an effect "which, as seen from windows of the rooms which open upon it, is lively and pleasing."[361] Another unusual and lively effect would have been created by Jones's use of multi-colored glass panes in a large skylight over the the central stair[362] [Figure 75]. In addition, "elaborate plaster work in Moorish designs" appeared on the walls and ceilings of some of the rooms on the ground floor and one room in the basement. Jones specified painted ceilings "decorated in colours" for the ground floor and one of these designs indicates the intricate detail, unity, and delicacy achieved in his decoration [Figure 76]. Again, the same techniques and similar patterns are recognizable in his contemporary book illustrations and the printed popular materials such as calendars, diaries, and playing cards which he was creating for Warren De la Rue. These ornate patterns, exquisite in his hands, were imitated and debased throughout the century becoming one form of the overwrought ornamentation associated with High Victorianism.

The ground floor plan included a long vestibule with doorways on all four sides. The windows which flanked the entrance were aligned with the corridors leading to the large public staircase and the smaller servant's stair. The doorways in the walls to the right and left of the entrance provided access to large, public rooms. The opening on the left was centered in the wall, but the doorway on the right was placed off axis. The asymmetrical placement of this door is the only element which prevents the foyer from being a perfectly balanced, classical composition.

The plan also featured five large rooms, plus two staircases segregating family and guests from servants, and the conservatory.[363] The conservatory joined an

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[361] *Ibid.*, p. 169.

[362] C. R. Cockerell had used a central skylight of this type previously, but the addition of colored panes of glass can be attributed to Jones. See Geoffrey Beard, *The English House Interior,* London, The Penguin Group, 1990, p. 221.

[363] The conservatory was not usually considered part of the house.

octagonal room with three entrances and a window on the cardinal walls and three apses and a squared recess in the intervening spaces. The location and refined decoration of this room suggests that this may have been a morning room (Figure 68). The room on the opposite corner of the rear of the house was probably intended as a gentleman's study since a corridor and outside entrance provided access to this room enabling the owner to conduct business apart from the rest of the household. The other rooms were probably intended to serve as a dining room, a library, and a second drawing room. The finished room below the conservatory was probably planned as a smoking or billiard room. Since Prince Albert had introduced smoking at Court, the practice was accepted, but generally confined to specific areas.[364] Smoking and billiard rooms were often separated from the main living quarters in the basement, so it is logical to attribute one of these functions to that space. Later, Jones was credited with popularizing the addition of decorated smoking and billiard rooms, an attribution which may have started with this commission.

The scheme for Jones's second house was submitted to the Commissioner's on August 26, 1845, and received Pennethorne's approval two days later. Pennethorne determined that the house would be "large, handsome, and well disposed," and he saw "no reason for objecting to either the plans or elevation although the latter is in a Moresque style, which (though not usually adopted) is admired by some persons and produces a picturesque effect."[365] The plans and elevations of Number 24 are quite different from Number 8 [Figures 77 and 78]. The house follows a palazzo format with three storeys over a basement. The symmetrical stucco facade features a balcony across the width of the front and a projecting central portico. The classical horizontality, achieved through the use of stringcourses, cornices, the first floor balustrade, and parapets at the ground level and on the roof, is balanced with the

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[364]Girouard, *The Victorian Country House*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, p. 36.

[365]Darby, Dissertation, p. 173.

deeply moulded surrounds and vertical casements of the windows. The ornamentation, however, shows the same inclination for eclectic decoration evident in Number 8.[366] In this case, the motifs include classical orbs, blind arcading, geometric patterns, slightly pointed arches in the window surrounds, and onion domes upon the roof, considered classical, Romanesque, Islamic, Gothic, and Moresque, respectively. Michael Darby also identified innovative elements in the "floral patterns of the brackets which carry the first floor balcony, and the capitals of the short, second floor pilasters." He compares these capitals to those found in the Alhambra, incorporating "delicately modelled leaf forms...which stop short of the archivolt." He notes that:

> Jones evolves his by bringing the archivolt to the top of the pilaster, and then turning it back on itself, at the same time splitting the end into three stylized leaves. Thus, the capital grows into the archivolt; similarly the brackets supporting the balcony seem to grow upwards, and the huge scale of the leaf-life forms which decorate them expresses this structural force. Jones's ornament is no longer a simple veneer as it had appeared at no. 8 where the pretty floral designs did no more than frame a detail, or break the monotony of a large expanse of wall, it now, while remaining essential Islamic, helps to animate the whole composition by expressing the tensions within it.[367]

The interior is markedly different as well. The wide vestibule across the front of Number 8 is replaced by a long narrow entry chamber which separates the front of the ground floor into two separate sections. This two-celled reception area joins a corridor which links exterior entrances on either side of the house and bisects the ground floor into front and rear sections. The front left quarter contained a study and adjoining room only accessible from this central passage. The exclusivity of this arrangement, again, suggests an office or place for the gentleman of the house to meet with men of commerce and trade. The complement to these rooms on the right

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[366] *Survey*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 184.
[367] Darby Dissertation, p. 174-5.

side of the house is the dining room. The only other rooms on the ground floor are two large drawing rooms with adjoining terraces. A narrow parapetted terrace completes the front of the house. As in No. 8, service rooms are located in the basement.

Jones had set the scale, price range, and demeanor for the private enclave of Kensington Palace Gardens with his design for Number 8,[368] and architects including Phillip Hardwick (#10), Sydney Smirke (#9 and #11), and designers in the office of (Sir) Charles Barry[369] would follow his lead building "private mansions...laid out and finished up in a superior style"[370][Figure 79]. On January 31, 1846, *The Illustrated London News* described the progress in the development as a "Metropolitan Improvement" observing that:

> The quaint red barracks at Kensington have been recently removed, together with Grapes public-house, to complete the new and magnificent road now forming from Bayswater to High-street Kensington. The houses building upon this site, and which overlook Kensington Gardens, are in the first style of architecture. Two mansions are already finished; one in the Byzantine character [Jones's design for No. 8], which, although novel to this country, appears to be more particularly suited to our climate and domestic comforts than most others. There are likewise four magnificent stone buildings of Italian character, one of which stands upon a space of an acre and a half of ground. A lodge in the same correct style as that at the north end is to be erected at the Bayswater entrance; and there seems to be a general feeling that this road, from its great breadth, imposing aspect, and the correct taste displayed throughout, bids fair to become a most aristocratic neighborhood. It has, likewise, a very beautiful appearance at night, from the large size of the gas lamps, and their close approximation to each other.[371]

The cost and location of the new properties, combined with the acute financial condition in the country, made the properties completed in the 1840s inaccessible to

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[368]Gere, *Nineteenth Century Design*, p. 68.

[369]Four houses (#12, 18, 19, 20) built to designs attributed to Charles Barry were produced for the contractors Thomas Grissell and Samuel Morton Peto, but the four designs were probably produced by architects on Barry's staff. Girouard, *Country Life,* November 11, 1971, p. 1270.

[370]*THE BRITISH ALMANAC...1846*, p. 243.

[371]*The Illustrated London News*, Jan. 31, 1846, p. 78.

most potential buyers and the properties failed to sell. By "the beginning of 1851 a little more than a third of the road has [sic] been successfully built on and occupied; the rest was divided up between empty houses which nobody would buy and empty sites on which nobody would build."[372] Within three years, this situation changed dramatically: all of the houses were occupied and all of the sites were taken. According to Mark Girouard, several factors account for this change:

> By 1851 Kensington Palace Gardens was, geographically and financially, no longer out on a limb. More and more of the area around it was being built on, and the Great Exhibition of that year put Hyde Park, and Kensington Gardens prominently in the public eye...Moreover, London was growing richer as well as bigger, and there were increasing numbers of City and professional families able to afford large houses. Bloomsbury, the previous favourite resort of families of this kind, began to be deserted for the big new stucco mansions of Kensington and Paddington. The houses in Kensington Palace Gardens no longer seemed absurdly out of context in their neighborhood; they had become the natural homes for the aristocracy of Bayswater.[373]

Girouard also points out the fact that the 5th Earl of Harrington began building his house in Kensington Palace Gardens in 1851 and "in the social climate of the 1850s to have an earl as a neighbor counted for a great deal."[374] He reports that other members of the aristocracy remained ensconced in Mayfair, St. James, and Belgravia, but "the richer of the new rich" were eager to follow the 5th Earl of Harrington. By the 1870's the *Illustrated London News* was able to call Kensington Palace Gardens "the most aristocratic London neighborhood " and contemporary critics, like Michael Jenner, observe that the "Victorian suburban villa found its highest expression in the larger and more spaciously sited mansions of Kensington Palace Gardens, which also demonstrated a refreshingly playful individuality of style, ranging from Islamic domes and Perpendicular Gothic to the more common

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[372]Girouard, "Gilded Preserves..., II," Nov. 18, 1971, p. 1360.
[373]*Ibid.*, pp. 1360-1.
[374]*Ibid.*

classical arrangement.[375] The area, known familiarly as "Millionaire's Row,"[376] has retained its dignity and exclusivity in the twentieth century and provides a London sanctuary to many foreign ambassadors. Jones's onion-domed Number 24 is appropriately occupied by the Saudi Arabian ambassador.

Since acquiring the property, the Saudi Arabian government has carried out extensive alterations on the interior, but few major changes had been made during the preceding century. The initial construction began in October 1845 and by December of that year, had progressed to the point that Blashfield was able to apply for the lease, promising to complete the house by June, 1847. The lease was granted on December 23 and Blashfield mortgaged the property to Lewis Vuillamy the following day. In May 1847, the time of Blashfield's bankruptcy, the house was "well advanced" with the exterior "finished down to the cornice above the ground floor windows." Blashfield's assignees planned to complete the house and applied to the Commissioners for a one year extension. This was granted, but the assignees decided against finishing the house themselves; consequently, Vuillamy applied to the Commissioners for an "unconditional extension until mid-summer 1848." This extension was granted on July 16, 1847, but Vuillamy also changed his mind and sold the unfinished house the next month to James Ponford for three thousand four hundred pounds.[377] Ponford was a substantial property owner who worked as a builder in the prestigious areas of Bayswater, St. John's Wood, and Belgravia. He completed the structure and "lived there with his family from 1850 to 1859."[377] Census records indicate that in 1851 his household consisted of twelve people including five servants.[378] In 1889, the owner was a Mr. Harland who requested permission to erect an iron and glass conservatory. This was removed by Chester

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[375]Michael Jenner, *London Heritage,* Penguin Books, London, 1991, p. 213.
[376]Curl, *Victorian Architecture*, Newton Abbot and London, David & Charles, 1990, p. 92.
[377]*Rate Books,* 1842.
[378]*Survey of London*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 184.

Beatty, owner, in 1912. Beatty also made other alterations converting the Mews into a library and adding a window. In 1937, a large gallery was added linking the house to the library.[379]

This placid history was not the fate of Number 8, however; in 1852, Mrs. Matilda Murray purchased the completed house from Blashfield's mortgagees for six thousand three hundred pounds. She immediately applied to the Commissioners for permission to divide the building into two dwellings, saying that the house as it stood was too large. She submitted plans drafted by F. and H. Francis, architects, which blocked some of the existing doorways, added a new entry on the south side in a matching style, and proposed using the room under the conservatory as either a library or billiard room. Pennethorne approved the proposal saying that "the house as it now stands is so large as to be too expensive except for very few persons."[380]

The work was completed the following year and Mrs. Murray took up residence in the southern half; Russell Gurney, a barrister and recorder, moved into the other half in 1854. The next year, Mrs. Murray sold the property and the new owner, Mr. J. W. Fraser asked the Commissioners for permission to extend the conservatory to accommodate his large organ. He assured the Commissioners that his modifications would be consistent with the prevailing Alhambric decorations. He said that "At present there is only a common place stable end to the conservatory. I propose to carry the Alhambric balustrade all round."[381] F. and H. Francis completed this work also, replacing the iron and glass screen looking out onto the garden with

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[379]Crown Estate Office, London, Record Number 11141.

[380]Darby dissertation, p. 171.

[381]"I have now bought Mrs. Murray's property in Kensington Palace Gardens and now have to request your sanchion [sic] to som additions to what was originally a Conservatory but used latterly by Mrs. Murray as a Drawing Room (and very inconvenient being all glass on one side and no fireplace or chimney to the Room). This room I propose to extend in length for the placing of my large organ--the whole will be carried out in the spirit of the existing Alhambric decoration. At present there is only a common place stable end to the conservatory. I propose to carry the Alhambric balustrade all round. Messrs. Francis the architects will submit plans." Letter from J.W. Fraser, Powderham Caste, dated August 24, 1855, Darby files.

windows and a door and balustrading and cement enrichments were added to match the rest of the house. Later, a staircase was added giving access to the billiard room below the conservatory, but no other substantial changes were made to Number 8 until a music room addition in 1884.

The house was used during World War II for the interrogation of German spies and was reported in poor condition in 1945. "The Crown Estate Commissioners were anxious to preserve the building," however, and solicited plans to return the house to a single family residence or other re-use. They accepted a plan to convert the building into seven "high class" flats, however, in 1955, but before this scheme was carried out, a new developer took over and his architects, Richard Seifert and Partners, declared the structure unsafe. Consequently, in 1961, "the Commissioners somewhat reluctantly agreed to allow the developer to demolish the house and erect a block of luxury flats."[382]

Although Henry-Russell Hitchcock said Jones's houses in Kensington Palace Gardens were "more like oversized Georgian garden fabricks than serious Early Victorian Mansions,"[383] most historians disagree,[384] citing the two houses designed by Jones as examples of the evolution of style in the 1840s. Jones's designs show the influence of Barry,[385] "the most flambuoyant " designer of the time,[386] in the selection of the Italianate Revival style in both villa and palazzo forms, in the

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[382]*Survey*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 164.
[383]Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture*, p. 180.
[384]See Girouard, *Country Life*, Nov.,11 1871, p. 1269; Darby dissertation, p. 168.
[385]See Barry's Traveller's Club (1829-32), Reform Club (1837-41), and Trentham Hall, Staffordshire (1834-42).
[386]Girouard, *Life in a Victorian Country House,* p. 48.

astylar facades,[387] the tower,[388] and the round-headed windows, and in ornamental details such as the decorative frieze and elaborated window dressings.[389]

Other features indicative of the Early Victorian period are the use of larger, grouped windows, elaborate balconies and cornices, and the provision of the iron and glass conservatory. Also characteristic is the preference for greater elaboration and modelling of the interiors. Jones's particular contributions involve the choice of the Moorish style for No. 8 and the "Romanesque-Oriental" style of No. 24, the incorporation of tile decoration,[390] and the introduction of stronger colors.[391]

Few records exist on his other residential works during this period, except for a list which he wrote recording the building of four houses in Westbourne Terrace in 1840.[392] These structures would have been part of the "seventy-three first class Mansions" comprising the aristocratic Westbourne Terrace Tontine: a development promoted as "one of the finest ranges of Buildings in the Metropolis" featuring "very elegant and commodious" interiors."[393] The four-storey over daylight basement mansions were arranged on either side of a spacious open center filled with wide boulevards, pedestrian walkways, and balustraded gardens. The uniform facades "in a rather florid style of Italian" displayed rustication on the ground floor and the newly fashionable attention to window surrounds on the upper levels.[394] Jones probably designed the physical lay-out, amenities, and decoration of the interiors of the four houses mentioned, with the developer-contractor producing the shells. He may have been responsible for the physical lay-out of other terraces as well.

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387 *THE BRITISH ALMANAC...1846*, p. 243 and Stephan Muthesius, *The English Terraced House*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1982.

388 Mark Girouard says that the tower was Barry's favorite feature, Girouard, *Life in a Victorian Country House*, p. 50.

389 John Summerson, *The Unromantic Castle*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1990, p. 222.

390 *Ibid.*, p. 226.

391 Girouard, *Country Life*, November 18, 1871, p. 1362.

392 Owen Jones Box, John Johnson Collection, New Bodleian, Oxford.

393 *The Athenaeum*, January 3, 1846, p. 4.

394 *The British Almanac for the Society of the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, 1846, p. 243.

The meager documentation on his other residential work during this period is insufficient to indicate whether he was involved in the total interior design and construction or the decoration of previously completed facilities. For example, the only remaining evidence of his work for the surgeon, John George Perry, at 12 Westbourne Street, is a ceiling design [Figure 80].[395] This scheme shows a geometric pattern around a central rose in red and blue, a border composed of parallel red and blue lines, and delicate motifs in the corners and center of each wall formed of light, flowing abstracted stems and leaves. These same elements can be found in other ceiling and carpet designs by Jones [Figure 81] and in his illuminated texts, such as *The Paradise and the Peri* . The arrangement of a geometrical central design surrounded by bare walls relieved by smaller decorative motifs is found in the mosques of Turkey and elsewhere in the Middle East and in classical schemes as well. This design, however, appears to be original to Jones.

On January 17, 1844, Henry Cole wrote a diary entry recording his visit to view Jones's decorations in Number 7 Sussex Terrace. Unfortunately, no other records have been found for this project and the house is now demolished.[396] One remnant does remain, however, of another scheme by Jones, executed in the affluent section known as Tyburnia.[397] This remnant is a sample of a chintz Jones created as part of the decorations for #84 Westbourne Terrace. The client, Thomas De la Rue, commissioned Jones to design and furnish the interiors of the property he purchased in 1850. Specimens and illustrations of this chintz exist because a sample of this material was included in each of the December 1851 issues of the *Journal of Design and Manufactures* [Figure 82]. The *Journal* praised this furniture

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[395]Westbourne Street is an extension of Westbourne Terrace.

[396]Darby Dissertation, p. 153.

[397]Tyburnia was another fashionable new suburb developed in the nineteenth century. The nickname "Tyburnia" derived from the fact the that the Tyburn River flowed through the area. The history of Tyburnia is reported by Gordon Toplis in an article entitled "Urban Classicism in Decline," *Country Life,* November 15, 1973 and Darby Dissertation, p 208, footnote #130.

covering solution as an example of correct design principles and noted the appropriate elimination of shadow, the *levelness* of the pattern viewed at a distance, and the successful blending of colors to produce a neutral tint. This design was unusual and innovative in a period when "handsome furniture is usually covered up by brown holland, which although cleanly-looking, is not always harmonious with the general colouring of a room."[398] Michael Darby explains that Jones's "design, in two shades of grey, appears to derive from a combination of the 'crochet hook' pattern in manuscripts and classical anthemium."[399] He notes that "similar designs by Jones, for wallpapers, apparently of a rather later date, are preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, while other designs of the same date as the Westbourne Terrace cotton and which elaborate the same devices, appear as endpapers in the *Song of Songs, The Preacher,* and other books."[400] He concludes that Jones was experimenting with the use of his book designs to embellish walls and ceilings demonstrating the fact that Jones's 'new Style' was capable of physical expansion and contraction and adaptation to a wide range of surfaces and environments.[401]

During this period, Cesar Daly reported a visit to one of Jones's residential interiors in London in the French publication *Revue Generale.*[402] Daly said nothing could be more pleasing than Jones's use of white and the three primary colors. The French editor assured his readers that the effect of these colors was not overdone, since Jones used a graduated approach, applying color according to the importance of the room. In this way, the entrance hall, the passage, and the stairway received uncolored reliefs, while the main living room displayed chromatic illumination on

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398*Journal of Design and Manufactures,* Vol. VI, December, 1851, p. 110.
399Darby Dissertation, p. 155.
400*Ibid.*
401*Ibid.*
402Cesar Daly, *Revue Generale,* Volume 6, 1845. I am grateful for Frederica McRae's translation of this material.

cornices and in the center of the ceiling. Daly explained this concentration of lavish ornament on the ceiling added brilliance to the decor without detracting from the beauty and fashions of the ladies in the room.

He continued his enthusiastic account by saying that the visit had occurred on a grey and rainy day, but as they advanced within the house, it seemed that Jones had worked Prometheus's miracle of harnessing the fire of the sun in order to illuminate his work. The result resembled a change in latitude, producing a warm and sunny interior in marked contrast to the cold and dismal streets outside. Daly concluded that Jones's ability to achieve this type of transformation was a precious talent in a country with frequent unpleasant weather.

The English press reported on Jones's decoration of two London churches: All Saints, Ennismore Gardens, Knightsbridge (1846-1849), designed by Jones's former master, Lewis Vuillamy, and Christ Church, Streatham (1840-1842), by Jones's brother-in-law, James William Wild (1814-1892).[403] Both of these schemes are important in demonstrating Jones's efforts to introduce polychromatic decoration in British architecture. In addition, they are significant as examples, along with Thomas Wyatt's St. Mary and Nicholas Church in Wilton (1840-1846), of an attempt to introduce a new architectural style based on Byzantine precedents and eclectic motifs drawn from the Middle East. All three churches adopt a plan modelled on the Church of San Zeno Maggiore in Verona (*c.* 1123), an unusual precedent in a period dominated by the strictures of the Cambridge Camden Society.[404] Hitchcock points

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[403]Wild's designs for Christ Church are dated April 9, 1840 (Church archives). The foundation stone was laid on August 11, 1840 and consecration occurred on November 19, 1841. John Thompson was the builder and M. Wilson Foster was clerk of the works. B.F.L. Clarke, *Parish Churches of London,* 1966, p. 187. See also, "Public Improvements, *The British Almanac of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,* p. 207.

[404]Hitchcock explains that "through the mid-40s the Camdenians were as opposed to foreign ideas in church architecture as to round-arched medieval forms in general. At that time the foreign architectural inspiration of the aesthetically heterodox, whether Italian, German, or French, was generally of a Romanesque order and *ipso facto* disapproved of by the *Ecclesiologist's* reviewers.," Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture,* p. 577. Note: After 1846, the Cambridge Camden Society is known as the Ecclesiological Society, Peter Howell and Ian

out that when the *Ecclesiologist* reviewed All Saints in 1849, Vuillamy was forgiven for departing from the preferred English Norman or Gothic for two reasons. The first was the fact that he created the design for All Saints in 1837, prior to the rise of the science of ecclesiology, and the second was the success of Jones's interior decoration.[405] At the time the church was built, the *Ecclesiologist* reported that "the apse which serves as sanctuary has been polychromatized by Mr. Owen Jones, and, we need not add, greatly improved by this adornment. We hail this as another proof of the triumph of the principle of decorative colour. The semi-dome is blue, spangled with stars: a large cross being formed in the centre by the stars being increased and thickened."[406] The star-studded blue ceiling is ubiquitous in Early Christian and Byzantine architecture; for example, the Church of St. Apollinare en Classe (532-549), near Ravenna, features a golden cross in the apse composed of tesserae. Jones's apsidal cross in All Saints may be a direct reference to the basic dogma and articulation in early church architecture. The Arts and Crafts architect, Heywood Summer, replaced the work of Jones in 1892.[407]

Evidence of Jones's work does survive in the apse and capitals of Christ Church, Streatham [Figures 83 and 84].[408] Most of the original decoration was obscured, however, between 1925 and 1933 when the architect and archaeologist, Arthur E. Henderson, redecorated the church interior. Henderson's scheme was subsequently buried under monochrome paint following World War II.[409]

Sutton, *The Faber Guide to Victorian Churches*, London and Boston, Faber and Faber, 1989, p. ix.

[405]Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture*, p. 577.

[406]The article also reported that the remaining decoration of the church was to be finished later. *Ecclesiologist*, Vol. X, 1850, p. 64.

[407]Howell and Sutton, p. 73.

[408]The English Lottery Fund has approved funding to restore the interior of Christ Church to Jones's original scheme. Letter from The Reverend Christopher Ivory to Carol Flores dated December 3, 1995. I am also grateful to Reverend Ivory for access to the church, the drawings, and his files on the building.

[409]1940 bomb damage affected the fabric, but not the structure of the Church. Repairs and other changes were planned by John Morris of Messrs Young and Hall and executed by the

Wild's "archaeologically basilican" arrangement, or simple parallelogram, is 85 feet 6 inches by 57 feet [Figures 85 and 86]. On the east end, a semicircular apse extends the building by another 18 feet for a total length of 103 feet 6 inches. A semi-detached tower on the south-east corner of the building is two times the height of the main building, reaching a height of 113 feet. This structure, suggestive of the tower at San Marco in Venice (1063-1073), was admired for the delicate, polychromatic decoration in brick similar to contemporary work being implemented by the best masons in Germany.

Wild made extensive changes to the building's design and decoration during construction. He replaced an Italianate cornice with an Egyptian cavetto projection, added a clerestory, and implemented decorative trelliswork in the campanile reminiscent of the Giralda at Seville.[410] He also produced several rearrangements of the west facade, placing greater emphasis on the central entry portal by framing the door with a huge arch similar to the arch at the Mosque of Sultan Hassan and adding a carved and painted tympanum by Jones's friend, Joseph Bonomi. Further emphasis on the entry was achieved by placing a low brick fence parallel to the church facade with an opening opposite the front of the door. In the final arrangement, two tall obelisks flanked the opening adding to the focus on the door, and the tympanum and the clerestory were eliminated.[411]

The interior is typical of the basilican plan, with a simple timber-framed roof over a nave and side aisles [Figures 86 and 87]. Five bays, formed with slightly pointed arches, similar to those on the west front, integrate the interior and exterior of the building. Each bay contains a pair of smaller arches supported by cast iron

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contractors Garretts of Balham in 1951. The church was rededicated after the completion of the restoration on October 20, 1953. On October 11, 1955, Christ Church was listed as a National Monument by the Minister of Housing and Local Government. Joan Payne, *Christ Church Streatham: A History and Guide*, Streatham, the Streatham Society, 1986, p. 4.

[410]Darby Dissertation, p. 177.

[411]*Ibid.*, pp. 177-178.

columns; cast iron columns brace the north and south galleries also. An additional cast iron column originally supported the west gallery, but was later removed to provide an uninterrupted view of the apse upon entering the church.

The apse remains the visual and physical focus of the church and, as the backdrop to the sanctuary, provides the spiritual focus as well [Figures 83 and 87]. The exedra is larger than a semi-circle and is punctuated with nine windows at the gallery level. Jones created a strong central focus in the ceiling, placing the initials "IHS" in the center and radiating geometric patterns from the central point. The patterns become diffused as they fan out into a burnished gold background delicately accented with thin black 'branches' and polychromatic stylized crosses. The crosses and initials are the only symbolic elements in Jones's ornamentation.

Jones merged the decoration of the ceiling and walls in the apse by creating strong pattern over and around the clear windows.[412] In addition, he introduced symmetrical, abstract patterns on the piers between the windows and colorful geometric patterns in a succession of moldings below the windows. Underneath these decorative fillets, a large band of text proclaimed the familiar message: "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace good will to men." In the original scheme, the Ten Commandments were painted below this band,[413] but the Commandments were covered with mosaics in a later scheme to commemorate the parishioners, James and Jemima Vernham.

Recent paint analysis of Christ Church's interior indicates that Jones's original scheme specified painting the nave columns dark red and gilding the abstracted acanthus leaf capitals[414] [Figure 88]. The analysis shows that the "colonnettes of the gallery arcade "were painted in oil in imitation of green patinated bronze, with

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[412]These windows were filled later with stained glass.

[413]Letter to Carol Flores from The Reverend Christorpher Ivory dated September 3, 1996.

[414]"London, Streatham, Christ Church: Report on an investigation of paint samples from the interior," prepared by Ian C. Bristow, p. 1.

the uppermost mouldings gilded."[415] Gilding found on one of the mouldings of the stringcourse beneath the apse windows matches the other materials and according to Ian C. Bristow, the consultant responsible for the analysis, seems to be part of Jones's scheme. Bristow notes that the walls were painted gray initially and repainted once before a "dull lilac" was applied and blue was picked out on the frieze and mouldings of the gallery.[416] Although more detailed analysis is required to ascertain the exact color of the walls in Jones's scheme, it should be noted that he used a color described as lilac in the decoration of the Crystal Palace Bazaar.

Most accounts of the church say that it was not decorated when construction was completed due to lack of funds. It should be noted, however, that common practice at the time involved letting the walls dry for several years before painting. The original plans indicate decoration in the form of chevrons on the lower arches, graduated voussoirs on the larger arches, and bands of moulding and six-sided stars decorating the gallery [Figure 89]. When Jones completed the decoration a decade later, he developed a more complex scheme. The Church's records dated May 17, 1852, "state that painting and decorating the body of the church cost *L*352. 2s. 2d. and that decoration of the apse and writing the commandments cost *L*195. 10s...Charles Buzzard - painter was paid *L*352. 2s. 2d. and that Owen Jones - architect was paid L306. 15s."[417]

The extent of Jones's influence in the initial designs of All Saints, Ennismore Gardens, and Christ Church is intriguing. The fact that Vuillamy, an architect accomplished in Renaissance-styled commissions,[418] and Wild, an architect proficient in Gothic and Norman designs,[419] developed schemes in the "Italian with

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[415]*Ibid.*

[416]*Ibid.*, p. 2.

[417]Letter from The Reverend Christopher Ivory to Carol Flores dated September 3, 1995.

[418]Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture,* p. 141.

[419]Wild's earlier Coates Church in Whittlesey, Cambridge, is similar in plan to Christ's Church, but the Whittlesey parish was executed in a gothic style. Darby dissertation, p. 180.

participated in the development of the first nineteenth-century English church to exhibit external constructional polychromy. Christ Church was complete almost a decade before Butterfield designed All Saints, Margaret Street (1850-1859). The walls of yellow-brown stock brick at Christ Church were enhanced with contrasting voussoirs, chequerboard banding, and chevrons in yellow and red bricks which foresehadow Jones's own use of external polychromy on the exterior of St. James's Hall. This innovative approach to polychromatic materials and decoration, plus the use of non-traditional motifs and materials in both All Saints and Christ Church, suggests that Jones may have had involvement in these schemes beyond the sumptuous decoration of the interiors.[427]

Jones worked on other atypical projects in the forties including the creation of polychromatic exteriors for the Villa of Alderman Moon and "the stuccoed front of the house in Fleet-street, where the illuminated '*Pictorial Times*' established itself."[428] Since London was comprised of painted stucco and "London brick" facades blackened into a drab, monotonous composition by extreme pollution and the notorious "fogs" of the time, Jones's use of gold and brilliant color would have highlighted and announced the arrival of the *Pictorial Times* within the business district as a metaphor to the colorful intrusion of this publication into the established world of print media. On another level, representing the tabloid through an aggressive use of color may have been an attempt to link the format and content of the periodical with the latest issues and controversies.[429]

Another dramatic scheme, which would have been revolutionary if realized, linked Jones with the French entrepeneur Pierre-Paul-Antenor Joly in a proposal for

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[427]Darby notes the interior bay elevation in Christ Church "described as deriving from the 'Great Mosque at Constantinople' could easily have been taken from Jones's drawings of the Mirhimah Djami in Istanbul, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum." Darby Dissertation, p. 181.

[428]"The ornamental heading to the paper was also designed by him." Vizetelly, p. 253.

[429]The debate over polychromy in ancient architecture was unresolved at this point.

a vast public entertainment complex. Joly, a hero of the 1830 Revolution, was editor of *Vert-Vert*, a review known for its celebration of emerging romantic writers, such as Victor Hugo. Hugo, Alexander Dumas, Berlioz and others had promoted Joly's founding of the successful Theatre de la Renaissance in Paris in 1838. The French government determined that the material being presented was subversive, however, and closed the theater in 1841. Joly employed architects to develop plans for other theatres in Paris, but none materialized. Nevertheless, he was confident that he had devised a "system" for managing public entertainments.[430]

In 1843, he travelled to London to promote a project to accommodate a theater, concert hall, lecture theater, library, exhibition hall, gymnastics center, heated swimming baths, areas for pistol shooting and fencing, a 'harem *retiro* pour les dames', a cafe' and shops selling flowers, pastries, ice creams, sorbets, fruit, and dairy produce, all under one iron and glass roof in an internal wintergarden of pleasure. The site was to be Leicester Square, the architect - Owen Jones, and the Director General, a Mr. Mitchell.[431] Although the project did not succeed, Jones's selection as "premier architecte" attests to his reputation and credability for undertaking such an extraordinary venture.

He also showed perception and independent judgment in being one of the earliest and one of the only prominent architects to recognize the need and potential of designing new shops for the promotion of commercial sales. Increased incomes, combined with a growing demand for comfort, luxury, and the desire for material possessions, revolutionized shops and shopping within Victorian England. Jones made substantial contributions to this change in the fifties and beyond by fashioning schemes for some of the most innovative, attractive, and important retail facilities in London. But even in the early forties, he was already introducing new ideas to

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[430]Darby Dissertation, pp. 262-3.
[431]*Ibid.*

enhance the sale of goods by creating an exciting and inviting environment for their display. Typically, any efforts to enhance shops occurred on the facade; most interiors were dark and uninviting.[432] Jones changed this arrangement in a Southampton shop, however. *The Westminster Review* reported that in "the extremity of the shop, or that portion which is at the rear of the dwelling-house, is lighted through a dome, resting upon four slender pillars, which is square in plan, but semicircular in section, and which consists entirely of rich open or lattice work, filled in with glass of various hues."[433]

It is worth noting that this multi-colored glass dome predates the huge vaulted skylight which the young architect installed in the stairwell of Number 8, Kensington Palace Gardens. Of interest also is the writer's apparent familiarity with Jones, his work, and his association with the Alhambra, since the 1841 date of this comment appears during the time when parts of *The Plans, Elevations, and Sections...* had been released, but is prior to the completion of the first volume. Moreover, this example indicates that the architect's reputation had obviously gone beyond London and he was producing plans to be executed in areas remote from his physical sphere of practice.

There are indications that Jones made advances in the design of shop fronts as well as interiors. In one instance, Henry-Russell Hitchcock credited Jones with the iron and glass facade of No. 76 Oxford Street praised by the Belgian architect, Servaas de Jong. Hitchcock attributed this design to Jones based on de Jong's complimentary remarks on the "mauresque" detailing of the composition and since Hitchcock believed Jones to be "the principal Victorian expert on Islamic decoration" and a successful architect in iron and glass.[434] In the same year, an entry in the *Journal of Design* reported that Jones was called in to repair the front of Mr.

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[432] *Westminster Review*, American Edition, New York, Leonard Scott & Co., 1851, p. 185.
[433] *Westminster Review*, (London), Vol. XXXVI, Oct., 1841, p. 215.
[434] Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture*, p. 403.

Chappell's house in Bond Street. The repairs involved underpinning the wall, removing an old bressummer (lintel), and inserting a "very clever boiler plate-girder."[435] Jones received commendation for leaving the girder exposed, indicating the substantiality of the materials and construction instead of implying that the facade was supported by sheets of glass and a few sashes. His decision to recess the shop-front a few feet and ornament this with "an extremely elegant filling in" received praise also (Figure 90]. Although the form of balcony was considered clumsy, the *Journal* reported that "The effect of the whole is, however, most satisfactory" and continued with the appraisal that "such combinations of talent, were they more common in the 'highways and byways' of London, would materially elevate the style of our now anything but admirable street architecture."[436]

Jones combined the effort of carrying out a successful and innovative practice with active service to his profession. In his lecture to the Architectural Society on December 1, 1835,[437] he expressed his disappointment in returning to England after "wandering amidst the monuments of antiquity, where these ideas were formed, and where, in admiring the results of the most noble science of Architecture in other climes, I could not but regret its misapplication in my own." But, he indicated his gratification "in finding that others in my absence had been most successfully employed in forming a School of Architecture, which, I doubt not, will eventually raise that art from the desponding condition in which it has been long plunged" and continued by saying that he "hailed with pleasure the first dawn of a great change in the uprising of the Architectural Society, and sought with eagerness the honour of participating in its labours."[438] He became an active member in the Society, in the

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[435]Charles H. Wild was surmised to have assisted in the construction of this repairwork according to the *Journal of Design,* Volume IV, 1851, pp. 12-13.

[436]*Journal of Design,* Volume IV, 1851, pp. 12-13. The front of this building was redone in the 1870's and a photo taken in 1942 in the National Building Record indicates no evidence of Jones's earlier scheme. Michael Darby's notes.

[437]*Gentleman's Magazine,* CLIX, 1836, p. 35.

[438]Jones, "Lectures on...," p. 23.

Institute of British Architects, and in the Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, & Commerce.

The Architectural Society had been formed in 1831 for the purpose of founding a British School of Architecture with a library, museum, professorships, and exhibitions.[439] Jones contributed casts, drawings, and prints of the Alhambra to the museum in 1835, 1836, and 1837, and sponsored student competitions in 1837 and 1838 by offering copies of *The Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra* as prizes.[440] Reviews of the Society's meetings in the *Literary Gazette, The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal,* and the *Gentleman's Magazine* provide assessments of these donations; for example, the *Gentleman's Magazine* entry summarizing the meeting held on January 7, 1837, notes that "Amongst them [the contributions] was another portion of the splendid work *The Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra*...It is by Owen Jones, esq., architect, and it certainly surpasses all that we have witnessed of the magnificence and good taste of that very extraordinary people."[441] Later that year, the *Literary Gazette* observed that during the November 7, 1837, session "Some casts of arabesques, taken from the Alhambra, contributed by Mr. Owen Jones, attracted particular attention; they were exceedingly elaborate, and were elucidated by a view in outline of the interior, beautifully etched by Mr. T. T. Bury, member."[442] Jones made similar donations to

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[439]Howard Colvin, "The Architectural Profession," *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840,* London, John Murray, 1978, pp. 34-5.

[440]Citations in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Jones's donations of Alhambra material for the museum include the dates of November 3, 1835, December 13, 1836, November 7, 1837, and his competition prizes are recorded on December 5, 1837, and January 5, 1838. It is interesting to note the subject Jones chose for his drawing competition was the garden front of Charles Barry's Travellers' Club.

[441]*Gentleman's Magazine,* January 7, 1837, p. 81.

[442]*Literary Gazette,* November 11, 1837; *Gentleman's Magazine,* CLXIII, 1838, p. 78; *Civil Engineer & Architects' Journal*, 1837, p. 53.

the Architectural Association and to the Institute of British Architects, favoring the Institute with the first copy of Part One of his work on the Alhambra.[443]

In 1843, he received an Honorary Fellowship from the Architectural College, along with Charles Barry, James Savage, Samuel Ware, and J. H. Good, Esq., R.I.B.A.[444] This college, founded in 1842, was established with the lofty objectives of rediscovering the ancient principles of architecture; to sanction good principles of building and condemn bad ones; to exercise "scientific and experienced judgment in the choice and use of the most proper materials; the infusion, maintenance, and advancement of science throughout architecture; and, eventually, by developing the powers of the College upon a just and beneficial footing, to reform the whole practice of architecture."[445] This mission, consistent with Jones's philosophy, also included objectives to raise architecture to the same level of "unquestioned honour which is at present enjoyed by almost every other profession"[446] and to inform all members of the College of any practical information of interest to the profession as soon as it becomes available instead of waiting for a book to be published on the topic.[447] The award of a fellowship from this group comprising "many of the chief men of the literature and science of architecture" demonstrates Jones's esteem in the early forties. Further evidence of his prominence and willingness to advance the cause of architectural education is indicated in a comment made about the 1849 Architectural Association's Architectural Exhibition when "Gilbert Scott, Owen

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443 *Royal Institute of British Architects* records indicate that Jones gave the following: the No. 1 copy of his work on the Alhambra (1836), casts (1838), and various parts of *The...Alhambra* and two colored and gilt casts (1839).

444 J. H. Good, Architect of Kensington Palace, Surveyor to Her Majesty's Commissioners for Building Churches, to the Incorporated Society for Building, &c., Churches, to the Pavilion at Brighton, and to Kensington Palace.

445 *The Builder*, 1843, p. 23.

446 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

447 *Ibid.*

Jones, and Donaldson condescended to be among the exhibitors"[448] to aide the Association. He also gave his time and knowledge in lectures, meetings, and engaged in the acrimonious debate over merging the Architectural Society and the Institute of British Architects. This debate was seen as a conflict between Art and Science; Jones cast his vote for Science by resigning from the Architectural Society and promoting the Institute of British Architects.

He also participated in associations organized to benefit the society at large; in particular, he supported the Royal Society for the encouragement of Art, Commerce, & Manufactures. Jones joined this group in 1847, the year that Prince Albert became the group's President. Jones served on committees with other prominent figures, such as Charles Dickens, in an effort to address contemporary concerns, including the need for improved sanitation and the promotion of the first international trade exhibition: The Great Exhibition of 1851.[449]

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[448]John Summerson, *The Architectural Association, 1847-1947,* London, Architectural Association, Pleiades Books, Ltd., 1947, p. 6.

[449]On November 8, 1850, Owen Jones, G, H, Lewes, Henry Cole, Richard Redgrave, Matthew Digby Wyatt, and Charles Barry agreed to serve on the Committee of Sewers on the Establishment of Public Water-Closets and Urinals. Charles Dickens and Thomas Carlyle joined this committee on November 29, 1850. See Royal Society for the encouragement of Art, Commerce, & Manufactures Minutes.

CHAPTER IV

ARTICULATING A THEORY OF ARCHITECTURE:

"TRUE BEAUTY RESULTS FROM THAT REPOSE WHICH THE MIND FEELS WHEN THE EYE, THE INTELLECT, AND THE AFFECTIONS, ARE SATISFIED FROM THE ABSENCE OF ANY WANT."[450]

The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations (1851) is considered by many historians to be the defining moment of nineteenth-century Britain. Jones played a critical role in making the Exhibition an unqualified success and then used his celebrated position within the profession, with the press, and with the public, to criticize contemporary architecture and to urge reform.[451] John Ruskin, Charles Dickens, and others who opposed the ideology and activities of the Government Schools of Design attacked him. Jones remained strong, however, articulating his philosophy clearly and confidently, and demonstrating his ideas in the buildings, products, and texts which, subsequently, influenced design in Britain, America, and on the continent. This chapter presents Jones's principles of design and reveals his pivotal position within Victorian debates on the style, decoration, and materials appropriate to architecture.

Most accounts of the Great Exhibition focus on the events and individuals which fostered the enterprise, the design and construction of the pre-fabricated

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[450]Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament,* Proposition 4.

[451]For studies of the Great Exhibition see Patrick Beaver's *The Crystal Palace: A Portrait of Victorian Enterprise*, Chichester, Phillimore, 1993 (first published in 1970); Yvonne Ffrench's *The Great Exhibition: 1851*, (1950); C. H. Gibbs-Smith's *Commemorative Album* (1951), Robert Thorne's "Paxton and Prefabrication," *Architectural Design*, Vol. 57, No. 11/12 - 1987, p. 22, and John McKean's, *The Crystal Palace: Joseph Paxton and Charles Fox,* London, Phaidon Press, 1994.

Exhibition Building popularly called the "Crystal Palace," and descriptions of the items displayed, without doing justice to the significance of Jones's contributions.[452] The following discussion presents relatively unknown information which reveals that while others had proposed praiseworthy iron and glass structures for the Exhibition building prior to Paxton's plan, Jones was unique in envisioning the effect of the structure and the space being created and in devising a scheme capable of transforming the new industrially-produced materials chosen by Paxton into an harmonious atmosphere of sufficient dignity and magnificence to serve its' role of hosting the nations of the world.[453] At the completion of the Crystal Palace, contemporaries lavished praise on Jones's decorative scheme, describing the environment he created as having "a quietness and yet a splendour, a repose and yet a grandeur...which enchant, while they amaze, whoever enters into the place."[454]

During the forties, Jones established associations which placed him in an ideal position to play a major role in the events of 1851. One of these alliances was formed with Henry Cole (1808-1882), the future organizer of the Great Exhibition. Initially, Cole approached Jones for help in designing the cover for one of Cole's publications.[455] Soon, their relationship had evolved to the point where the architect was showing his recently completed commissions to Cole and Cole was

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[452]Chapter IV of Michael Darby's dissertation points out that Jones's involvement in the Great Exhibition was more important than realized and discusses Jones's contribution. I have verified the information presented and have included additional material on this commission. Much of this material comes from contemporary correspondence, meeting minutes, and periodicals contained in the Windsor Archives and should be cited as the: Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851, Windsor Archives: on permanent loan to the 1851 Commission. I am grateful to the members of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 for allowing me to study this material and to Mrs. Valerie Phillips, Archivist, for her knowledge of the collection and valuable assistance with my research. I am also indebted to George Chadwick for recommending this archive for study.

[453]In the catalogue to the Exhibition, Matthew Digby Wyatt noted, that "The vivacity of any impression" the building conveyed to the visitor would probably depend more strongly on the system of decoration which it has received from Mr. Owen Jones than on the constructional details". *Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations 1851: Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue in Three Volumes,* London, W. Clowes & Sons, 1851, p. 66.

[454]"The Great Exhibition," *The Bible Class Magazine,* April, 1851, p. 90.

[455]Cole diary entry March 19, 1844, Victoria and Albert Museum.

urging Jones to join the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce.[456] After Jones was admitted to the Society in 1847, the two men discussed the organization's business at dinners in Cole's house and as they walked home together after attending meetings. The Society was committed to social change and public improvement; the diverse membership, comprised of prominent citizens from the arts, sciences, and commerce, formed action committees to study and address a variety of problems, including the need for better sanitation and the growing concern over the lack of patent protection. The group's standing was strengthened in 1847, when Prince Albert agreed to serve as President.

One of the Society's main concerns involved the standards of British industrial design and manufactures. To raise interest in British goods, they financed exhibitions of local products in 1847, 1848, and 1849. As these displays grew in size and public awareness, the group decided to hold a British Exhibition of National Design and Manufacture in London during 1851. Prince Albert, a tireless champion of British commerce, sanctioned the idea. Henry Cole, Francis Fuller, and Matthew Digby Wyatt began planning for this event by visiting the 1849 *Exposition* in Paris to observe how the French, who had started holding exhibitions in the eighteenth century, conducted their displays.[457] When Cole noticed that the French included

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[456]This group was known as the Society and later became the Royal Society for the encouragement of Art, Commerce & Manufactures. Owen Jones was proposed for membership by Henry Cole, Richard Redgrave, and John Bell on April 28, 1847. He was proposed His brother-in-law, Charles J. Wild, Esq., was proposed at the same meeting. Source: Minutes of the Society 1846-1847.

In "1847 he became a member of this Society, of which he was a most active and energetic member, both in connection with the Great Exhibition and in other matters." *Journal of the Society of Arts*, Vol. XXII, Nov. 21, 1873 - Nov. 13, 1874, London: for the Society by George Bell & Sons, 1874, p. 527.

[457]As a result of their visit, Wyatt prepared the acclaimed *Report on the Eleventh French Exposition of the Products of Industry* (1849). Patrick Beaver, author of *The Crystal Palace*, says that "it was the ableness and comprehensiveness of this report that led the Commissioners to engage him [Wyatt] as secretary to the Executive Committee." Beaver, *The Crystal Palace*, Chichester, Phillimore & Co., 1993, p. 14. His relationship with Henry Cole must also be considered a factor, however.

the wares of their colonists along with their own Continental manufactures, he began considering the possibility of an international exhibition for 1851.[458]

Cole proposed this alteration in plan to Prince Albert on June 27, 1849, and the Prince seized upon it. With the stature of royalty and Cole's ability to instigate social changes and new bureaucratic initiatives, a formidable alliance was formed capable of mounting the campaign necessary to accomplish such a daring feat.[459] A Royal Commission with the Prince as President included the Prime Minister Lord Russell, Peel, William Cubitt and Charles Barry as members.[460] An Executive Committee was assembled under the Royal Commission with Robert Stephenson as Chairman and Matthew Digby Wyatt as Secretary.[461] Other members of this task force were George Drew, C. Wentworth Dilke, Francis Fuller, Henry Cole, and Lieut.-Colonel William Reid, Royal Engineers, C.B.

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[458]Most discussions credit Henry Cole with the idea for the Exhibition and for proposing this venture to Prince Albert. In the *Crystal Palace,* John McKean presents a different account. McKean reports that Francis Fuller of the (Royal) Society of Arts, returned to London from the Paris Exhibition of 1849 before Cole. During his train ride, he encountered Thomas Cubitt and they discussed the Paris Exposition and the chance for England to host a larger, even international, exhibition. Cubitt is credited with repeating this conversation to Prince Albert. McKean describes the other encounter as Fuller's effort to convince Scott Russell, the secretary of the Society, that a London exhibition in 1851 can eclipse the Paris 1849 display. McKean reports that Russell presented this view in the Prince's presence at a Society function and within two weeks of the meeting between Cubitt and Fuller on the train, a deputation comprised of Cole, Russell, Fuller, and Cubitt, met with Prince Albert to formally propose an international exhibition to be held in London in 1851 and Cole suggests Hyde Park as the site. McKean, p. 5.

[459]Cole began his career as a Utilitarian social reformer by mounting a campaign to expose the waste and inefficiency pervasive throughout the Record Office. He was also secretary of the committee which established the English penny postage.

[460]Other members of the Royal Commission include: Mr. Alderman Thompson, The Earl of Rosse, the Earl of Granville, Lord Overstone, Right Hon. Henry Labouchere, Sir C. L. Eastlake, Sir C. Lyell, Sir R. Westmacott, Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Lord John Russell, Lord Stanley, the Duke of Buccleugh, the Earl of Ellesmere, Thomas Bazley, Thomas Baring, Richard Cobden, T. F. Gibson, John Gott, William Hopkins, Philip Pusey, John Shepherd, and Mr. Stephenson. Secretaries to the Commission were Edgar A. Bowring, Esq., J. Scott Russell, Esq., and Sir Stafford H. Northcote, Bart. There were also two Special Commissioners: Dr. Lyon Playfair and Leut.-Colonel Lloyd. Source: "Minutes of the Fortieth Meeting of the Royal Commissioners," Windsor Archives, Vol. VII.

[461]Beaver, p. 13.

A Building Committee was also formed including the Duke of Buccleugh and the Earl of Ellesmere, both prominent men with a personal interest in building. The remaining members of the committee were professionals; this group included the architects, Charles Barry, Robert Charles Cockerell, and Professor Thomas Leverton Donaldson, and the engineers, Isambard Kingdom Brunel, Robert Stephenson, and William Cubitt. Lord John Russell acted as the Secretary. This Committee was formed in January 1850. On March 13th, the members announced an open competition to solicit ideas for the Exhibition Building. Although entrants had less than a month to prepare and submit their designs, two hundred and forty-five plans were received. The Committee awarded sixty-five of these projects an "honourable and favorable mention, on account of architectural merit, ingenious construction, or disposition, or graceful arrangement of plan" and eighteen received "further higher honorary distinctions, on account of their designs of distinguished merit, showing very noble qualities of construction, disposition, and taste."[462] Of these eighteen, they paid "particular attention to the designs accompanied by models, 'of Monsieur Hector Horeau, architect, of Paris; and of Messrs. Turner, of Dublin, as evincing most daring and ingenious disposition and construction.'"[463] Hector Horeau, designer of the Paris Halles, proposed an iron and glass structure to be covered with a simple gabled roof. Richard Turner also envisioned an edifice of iron and glass. His design offered a rectangular structure 1440 feet by 1060 feet with four small domes around a large, central dome intended to rise to 200 feet above the ground. The cost of this composition was estimated at three hundred thousand pounds.[464]

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[462]*Builder*, June 8, 1850, p. 265.

[463]*Ibid.*

[464]Turner had previously planned and built the Palm House at Kew (1844), the Conservatory in the Regent's Park Botanical Garden (c. 1840), and the second train shed of Lime Street Station, Liverpool (1849-51).

Although the committee commended these designs, they did not select either for execution, announcing that they would prepare their own scheme.[465] On May 16, 1850, Matthew Digby Wyatt proposed that he, Owen Jones, and Charles Wild be employed to assist the Building Committee in developing their design and in supervising the building's construction. The Committee approved this nomination and voted five hundred pounds annual salaries for Jones and Wild along with Wyatt's previously approved seven hundred pound compensation.[466] *The Builder* lost no time in reporting opposition to these expenditures and these choices. First they objected to the selection of Wyatt, who they considered "an excellent draughtsman and ornamentalist, but who does not profess, so far as we know, any practical experience as an architect. For this reason, [they supposed] a young engineer, Mr. Wild, was associated with him at 500*l.* per annum."[467] Then they turned to Jones saying: "Mr. Jones is an able man in his department, and deserved, what he has received, the applause of the public for his very fine work on the Alhambra"; but then they erupted "but why he, of all men in the profession, should be appointed to see this building carried out, unless it be to show, on Government authority, that architects need know nothing of construction, and that building is not their province, we are unable to divine."[468]

No documentation survives indicating the real reasons for the choice of these three gentlemen, but it seems obvious that Henry Cole would have promoted his

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[465]"The Committee, however, have been unable to select any one design, as combining all the requisites, which varioous considerations render essential. But the judgment and taste evinced by a large number of the contributors, have enabled the Committee to arrive more promptly at their conclusions, and they have freely availed themselves of most valuable suggestions in directing the preparation of a fresh design for the proposed building." "Plan of the Building for the Exhibition of 1851," *Journal of Design and Manufactures,* vol. 3, p. 141, and George Chadwick, *Sir Joseph Paxton*, pp. 104-5.

[466]Minutes of the Seventeenth Meeting of the Commissioners, May 16, 1850, Archives of the Royal Commissioners for the 1851 Exhibition.

[467]Wyatt's first architectural work was with Brunel on Paddington Station and did not take place until 1852-1854. Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,* p. 187.

[468]*Builder*, May 25, 1850, p. 241.

trusted cohorts Wyatt and Jones for position's of authority and that Stevenson supported Wild.[469] The young engineer had been Stevenson's principal assistant and had distinguished himself with the design and flotation of the tubes for the construction of the Britannia Bridge. In addition, he received recognition for an article he wrote entitled "The deflection and relative strains in single and continuous beams" published in *Britannia and Conway Tubular Bridges* by Edwin Clarke (1850).[470] These factors, plus the fact that the Committee members knew the three men and their work, may explain their acceptance. The real issue, however, is not the circumstances which placed these gentlemen in the employment of the Executive Committee, but the fact that their selection, for whatever reason, was brilliant. Each brought unique capabilities important to the exposition's success, though their specific contributions to the brick and iron building designed by the Committee are unknown.

Correspondence shows that Wild assisted Brunel on the plans for the huge dome, 200 feet wide and 150 feet high, to crown the proposed building.[471] The building was projected to be 450 feet wide, 2,300 feet long, and 60 feet high enclosing an area of approximately 900,000 square feet. This vast space, described by Hitchcock as "a sort of *Rundbogenstil* super-railway-station,"[472] was to be "covered with a simple iron roofing, of 48 feet span, running from end to end of the building, supported by hollow iron columns, resting on brick piers."[473] The principal entrance and gate were to be centered on the south front, with "three other great entrances" on the north [Figure 91].

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[469]Both men were frequent dinner guests at the home of Cole and Jones sat with him on several committees in the Royal Society of Arts., Minutes of the Royal Society and Darby Dissertation, p. 267.
[470]Darby Dissertation, pp. 267-268.
[471]Beaver, p. 15..
[472]Hitchcock, *Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,* p. 184.
[473]*Builder*, June 8, 1850, p. 265.

In preparing this scheme, the Committee professed to be governed by three considerations. First, they were concerned with the provisional nature of the building and, therefore, they wanted to produce a design that could be adapted to other purposes with a minimum expenditure of labor and materials. Finally, they emphasized the need for "extreme simplicity in the design due to the short time in which the work work must be completed."[474] They also explained that their design relied upon "'honesty of construction, vastness of dimension, and fitness of each part to its end" for effect and stressed that they had achieved excellence in providing the features:

1. Economy of construction.
2. Facilities for the reception, classification, and display of goods.
3. Facilities for the circulation of visitors.
4. Arrangement for grand points of view.
5. Centralization of supervision: and
6. Some striking feature to exemplify the present state of the science of construction in this country.[475]

This feature was Brunel's dome which would exceed the domes of St. Paul's and St. Peter's through the application of modern techniques and materials.

Jones is thought to be the delineator of the Committee's design published in the *Illustrated London News* on June 22, 1850[476] [Figure 91]. Michael Darby's research also notes that the architect was planning to "make a comparative drawing of the committee's plan" as late as August 21, 1850,[477] over a month after Paxton's design appeared in the *Illustrated London News* (July 6, 1850). Darby points to two alternative conclusions which could be drawn from Jones's intention. The first is

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[474]*Ibid.*
[475]*Ibid.*
[476]Hitchcock, *The Crystal Palace,* p. 19.
[477]Darby Dissertation, p. 269.

that the architect may have wanted to promote the superiority of Paxton's design by comparing it to the Committee's scheme, an idea which gains credibility from the fact that Jones later produced one of the official views of the structure [Figure 92]. On the other hand, Jones may have favored the Committee's scheme. This second conjecture suggests a third, previously undiscussed, alternative: that Jones may have been the principal designer of the Building Committee's scheme. Several factors, demonstrated consistently throughout his career, lend credence to this possibility. It will become obvious that Jones had the ability to take on this commission. He also had a proclivity for taking on projects without prior experience and for accomplishing an incredible amount of work in a brief period. Whether the committee had asked him to take the lead in the design, it is impossible to imagine that he wouldn't have generated countless ideas, drawings, and suggestions for the project. The new type of building and the ability to incorporate modern materials in the construction would have appealed to him. In addition, the objectives outlined by the Building Committee embody elements important to Jones's work, particularly the emphasis on "vastness of dimension," the "fitness of each part to its end," solutions to problems of display and circulation, economy, and "the arrangement of grand points of view." Two less obvious factors which suggest Jones as the major designer, are, first, that although he enjoyed strong, positive associations with members of the profession and the building industry, his relationship with Paxton was always cool and distant. This strained relationship probably began with their involvement in the Exhibition Building in 1851 and may have started with each of them supporting their personal proposal. In that case, it is logical that Jones's appointment as Superintendent of the Works may indicate a "second place award" bestowed with the appreciation of the Building Committee and Prince Albert.

Whether this speculation is justified, Jones had other good reasons to give strong support to the Committee's proposal. The acceptance of Paxton's proposition

has overshadowed the facts that the Committee did include three of the nation's leading architects and two of history's most respected engineers and their design represented "the most 'scientifically' advanced buildings of their date."[478] Jones may have believed that their scheme, with Brunel's audacious dome and an iron roof supported on hollow iron columns, demonstrated sufficient improvement over conventional arrangements to represent national pride and progress adequately. In addition, the Committee's approach of implementing iron in conjunction with traditional building materials had been proven, but nothing like a total iron and glass structure four times the size of St. Paul's Cathedral had ever been built before. Doubts and fears that England "was about to make an 'exhibition'"[479] of herself may have persuaded the Committee to follow a verified program rather than risk disaster with an untested assay in new materials.

The public saw it differently; they derided the Committee's scheme and embraced the plan of Paxton.[480] When Paxton's design was accepted and Fox and Henderson had been appointed as the building's contractors, the responsibilities of Wyatt, Jones, and Wild shifted: Wyatt continued as Secretary to the Executive Committee and Jones and Wild were named Superintendents of the Works. This division of responsibilities meant that Wild was in charge of checking the specifications and calculations for Paxton's scheme and testing the structural members during construction; Jones, on the other hand, was responsible for devising "An elaborate system of decoration, extending internally and externally over eighteen acres of ground; the entire filling up of that vast space with stalls, tables, cases, &c.; the preparation of walks and avenues, ornamented with statues, fountains, and other objects of artistic beauty; [and] the entire arrangement of the

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[478]*Ibid.*
[479]Beaver, pp. 15-19.
[480]*Ibid.*, p. 15.

countless number of articles brought forward to be exhibited."[481] Wyatt later described Jones in this capacity, as going "carefully over every form in the building susceptible of harmonious combination."[482]

Henry-Russell Hitchcock is one of the few writers on the Crystal Palace who has called attention to the fact that Jones deserves major credit "for most of the surface decorative aspects of the Palace," including the color and other refinements to Paxton's scheme.[483] One of the examples of these enhancements which he cites is the unique clock which Jones created for the transept of the exhibition building [Figure 93]. At twenty-four feet across, the clock dial was the largest in England, surpassing the seventeen feet of St. Paul's and the twenty-three feet proposed for the Palace of Westminster. Jones accomplished this feat by incorporating the latest technology to move the hands electro-magnetically. This innovation eliminated the extensive weights previously required and reduced the space required for the essential workings of this new type of timepiece to a compact unit which could be placed directly behind the dial. The dial was then able to be mounted directly on the frame of the transept. Jones ingeniously incorporated the twelve spokes of the transept's lunette to complete the face of the clock. He placed painted numerals with the number six at the ends of the semi-circle and placed the number twelve in the center of the arc. Two hands completed this unique timepiece.[484]

Hitchcock also observes that many of the refinements like the "purely arbitrary touches" of "the little scrolls below the spandrels or the rather Saracenic cresting at the roof edges, both probably contributions of Owen Jones" presented a new type of refinement, not dependent "on the 'traditional' sensitivities of an architectural designer of Jones's retrospective background and training, but almost entirely on the

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[481]"The Crystal Palace," *The Times*, Windsor Archives, Vol. V.
[482]Darby Dissertation, pp. 269-270.
[483]Henry-Rusell Hitchcock, *The Crystal Palace*, p. 23.
[484]Hitchcock, *The Crystal Palace, p.* 28 and Original Papers: clock for the Transept of the Exhibition Building, *Journal of Design,* p. 173.

engineers' peculiar comprehension, at once thorough and subtle, of the processes of manufacture of the components and of the most convenient and rapid methods of assembly---and of *disassembly*."[485] He assumed, however, that other refinements "based on direct knowledge of the production methods that would be used for the separate parts in the factory" must have been the contribution of Fox and Henderson.[486] While this may have been the case, Wyatt's observation regarding Jones's involvement with "every form" attests to the fact that Jones was involved in this area of the design as well. Since Jones has been remembered as an "artist-architect" due to his extensive geometric patterns and texts on the decorative arts, it is easy to ignore or misunderstand the fact that he was a fully competent architect who had designed lauded works using cast iron and demonstrated sophisticated engineering techniques prior to his connection with the Crystal Palace. Moreover, his ability to advance chromolithographic publishing suggests that he possessed the intelligence and competence to produce designs for prefabrication. In addition, he shared a close personal and working relationship with his brother-in-law, Charles Wild, who had assisted him on earlier projects. Wild also benefitted from having been the head of Fox and Henderson's drawing office. These established associations may explain the impressive co-ordination that enabled every element of Paxton's design to be configured for production, changes and modifications made, and problems solved, in an astoundingly brief period.[487]

Nevertheless, if Fox and Henderson produced some of the refinements singularly as Hitchcock suggests, it is obvious that Jones contributed others. In fact,

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[485]Hitchcock, *The Crystal Palace, p. 24.*

[486]*Ibid.*

[487]"There never was a public structure in any way approaching the magnitude of the Hyde-Park repository accomplished with less official or departmental jobbing, with such rapidity and security, with less detriment to its neighbourhood during its erection, or with such honourable success of its architects and builders. *The Illustrated London News,* Jan. 4, 1851, p. 10, and Darby dissertation, p. 268.

at times, he was forced to replace the unsuccessful work of others. *The Times* reported one of these instances as follows:

> Amidst other changes which have been decided on since our last notice, there is one which we are sure will give unalloyed satisfaction to all persons of taste. The Commissioners of Woods and Forests had undertaken to enclose the building with railing; and, in fulfilment [sic] of that promise, they proceeded, with a simplicity worthy of Spartans, to place plain iron posts in the ground, which they connected together with a single rod of the same material. This afforded very little protection to the external wall of the Exhibition when the hoarding was removed, and the crowds of idlers collected there during the day used to amuse themselves by twisting the louvre boards so as to catch a peep of the interior. It was at once seen that such a railing would never do, and accordingly a very handsome one 6 1/2 feet high, has been designed by Mr. Owen Jones to take its place.[488]

The *Illustrated London News* printed a drawing of this iron fencing and commented that "in designing the ornamental railing which is to surround the Industrial Palace, at a distance of eight feet, Mr. Owen Jones has very judiciously combined some of the leading features in the internal construction of the Building, including especially the columns and trellis girders" [Figure 94].[489]

Jones made several changes to Paxton's plan, altering the exits and replacing the glass at the lowest levels with wooden panels.[490] He also devised the highly praised plan which equitably and attractively arranged all of the items to be exhibited. *The Times* praised this classification for allaying the "jealousy and dissatisfaction" of foreign nations and observed that "Each country having its industrial products collected within a separate hoarding will be shut out from invidious comparisons with its neighbor, and form its own centre of attraction."[491] The proposed organization also received commendation for presenting an "orderly

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[488] *The Times*, Windsor Archives, Vol. V.
[489] *Supplement to the Illustrated London News*, March 8, 1851. Matthew Digby Wyatt also attributes the iron railing to Jones in the *Great Exhibition ...Official Catalogue*, p. 67-69.
[490] Cole noted that these changes were suggested by Jones and completed by Jan. 14. Darby Dissertation, p. 285.
[491] *The Times*, Windsor Archives, Vol. VI.

and well-digested method" to display Britain's products; the least attractive items, such as machinery, raw materials, and produce were to be placed along the sides of the building, reserving the prominent central space for more attractive fine arts objects and manufactured goods. *The Times* predicted that "brilliancy and splendour of colour and form will thus be shown off to the greatest advantage, and the effect will be still further increased by the adoption of a geographical arrangement which places the showy productions of tropical regions nearest to the transept, and removes to the extremities the less gaudy but more useful industry of colder climates."[492]

Jones's most noticeable contribution and greatest political challenge, however, was the building's decoration.[493] By November, 1850, the construction of the building was progressing rapidly, but nothing had been decided on its decoration. The Fox and Henderson contract stipulated that the building was to be painted white and no other funds had been approved for further embellishment. Mr. Fox was pressing for the appointment of a Committee of Taste to decide the decoration.[494] Meanwhile, Owen Jones had written to twenty fellow architects asking for their ideas on the building's decoration. When no two professionals agreed, he felt free to present his own ideas regarding the application of color to

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[492]*Ibid.* The general geographic allotment of space assigned displays of goods submitted by foreign countries to the east side of the transept and items from the United Kingdom, the East Indies, and the British colonies on the west of the transept.

[493]The controversy and importance of the color scheme overshadows the fact that Jones was involved with all of the decorative details and decisions on the Exhibition Building and grounds. This meant that he was responsible for countless ideas and choices, including the decision to place red silk banners with white letters over the displays identifying the country of origin for the articles exhibited. He also advised on the displays of British objects; for example, he convinced the British delegation to avoid hanging their carpets parallel to their displays in the manner of the other countries. The success of this suggestion was reported in the *The Times*: "Ours are suspended from the girders which run across the building, and we cannot too highly compliment Mr. Owen Jones on the effect which they produce upon the general aspect of the interior." *The Times*, Windsor Archives, Vol. VII.

[494]Letter from Lord Granville to Colonel Grey dated November 11, 1850. Archives of the Royal Commissioners for the 1851 Exhibition.

enhance both the structure and the visual impact of the space enclosed.[495] He outlined his proposal in a letter to Prince Albert, estimating that the painting would require an additional two thousand pounds.[496] Since avoidance of expense was paramount in the planning of the Exhibition, this was quite a risky action. William Cubitt supported Jones's proposal, however, and petitioned Lord Granville for the two thousand pound expenditure. Granville responded that "voting 2000*l.* for decoration, which if designed by Raphael, is sure to be censured" was "a serious matter."[497]

To assist the Commissioners in evaluating his proposal, Jones had flags spaced at intervals on the exterior of the building and drapery hung within. A portion of the principal facade also received the ornamental castings suggested by Charles Barry and designed by Jones.[498] On the inside, examples of three different color schemes were painted on selected columns and girders. The three schemes indicated the changes experienced when the iron columns were painted in a neutral tint, painted dark red, or painted with blue, yellow, and white stripes. This last, parti-colored scheme was Jones's proposal. He illustrated the overall effect that would be achieved if his concept was executed in what *The Times* described as "two very clever pictures, giving the perspective of the centre aisle and the trancept [sic], and finished in the marvellously short space of six days." *The Times* reported that "These pictures were certainly not ill-calculated to do away with the strongly

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[495]Owen Jones, *On the Decorations Proposed for the Exhibition Building, in Hyde Park,* read at a meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects on Dec. 16, 1850. Hereafter: Jones, *Decorations Proposed,* with page. See also, Darby Dissertation, pp. 269-270.

[496]Letter from Lord Granville to Colonel Grey dated Nov. 22, 1850, Archives of the Royal Commissioners for the 1851 Exhibition.

[497]Letter from Lord Granville to Colonel Grey dated Nov. 25, 1850, Archives of the Royal Commissioners for the 1851 Exhibition.

[498]"The Crystal Palace in Hyde Park," *The Times,* Archives of the Royal Commissioners for the 1851 Exhibition, Vol. V, #63.

unfavourable impression which the experiment on a portion of the building produced on nearly all who saw it"[499] [Figure 95].

Jones based his strategy on the assumption that the canvas intended for the roof and south side of the building would minimize the light and shade on the interior. As a result, he anticipated that "the myriads of similar lines...of which the building is composed, falling one before the other, would lose all distinctness, and form, in fact, one dull cloud overhanging the exhibition. A line of columns...would present a...wall, and it would be impossible, in the distance, to distinguish one column from another."[500] If the iron were to be painted with the usual white or stone color or painted a solid dark color, the result would produce "one mass of indistinctness, the relief of the cast iron would disappear, and each column and girder would present to the eye but a flat silhouette" and the building would appear "totally unconnected with the various objects it is destined to contain."[501]

He believed that if a subdued neutral tint in dull green or buff could be found that was neither too light or too dark, the problem of indistinctness could be adddressed; but, he advised "it would be necessary that this tint...should be of a very subdued neutral character, in order to avoid the difficulty well known to mounters of drawings and painters of picture galleries, viz. that in proportion as you incline to any particular shade of color, so in that exact proportion you injure or destroy those objects it is intended to relieve, which may have similar color."[502] He rejected this alternative, since he felt that it required accepting "a dull monotonous color without character" which would be "unworthy" of this great occasion, expressing his strong conviction by exclaiming "how little would it impress the public! how little would it teach the artist!"[503]

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[499] *Ibid.*
[500] *Decorations Proposed,* p. 2.
[501] *Ibid.*
[502] *Ibid.*
[503] *Ibid.*

He felt that the right multi-colored combination, on the other hand, would eliminate the problem of indistinctness, would bring the building and its contents into perfect harmony, and "would fitly carry out one of the objects for which this exhibition was formed, viz. that of promoting the union of the fine arts with manufactures."[504] He realized the difficulty of finding the correct combination of colors, conceding that an error in judgment would produce a vulgar display instead of a work of artistic merit. To avoid this calamity and attain the best possible effect, he recommended the use of the primary colors "in such relative quantities, as to neutralize or destroy each other; thus no *one* color will be dominant or fatiguing to the eye, and all the objects exhibited will assist, and be assisted by, the colors of the building itself."[505] To achieve this end, he planned to use blue, red, and yellow, "in or near the neutral proportions of 8, 5, and 3." Further, "to avoid any harsh antagonism of the primary colors when in contact, or any undesired complimentary secondaries arising from the immediate proximity of the primaries," he proposed to place "a line of white between them, which will soften them and give them their true value."[506]

Jones acknowledged Field's chromatic experiments for proving that the primary colors were neutralized when combined in the 8, 5, 3 ratio and in this condition white light was produced.[507] Jones's scheme "would be an experiment on an immense scale" aimed at achieving a state of neutrality where this white light would produce harmony and an increased effect of light within the building.[508] The colors would be distributed to achieve another objective which Jones believed to be important in the decoration of a building: the increase of the effect of light and shade. He saw "the best means of using blue, red, and yellow, is to place blue, which

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[504]*Ibid.*
[505]*Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
[506]*Ibid.*
[507]George Field, *Chromotography*, London, 1825.
[508]Jones, *Decorations Proposed*, p. 2.

retires, on the concave surfaces, yellow, which advances, on the convex, and red, the color of the middle distance, on the horizontal planes, and the neutral white on the vertical planes. Following out this principle on the building in question, we have red for the underside of the girders, yellow on the round portions of the columns, and blue in the hollow parts of the capitals."[509]

Jones explained these ideas and presented his drawings and test samples to Prince Albert and the Royal Commissioners on December 5, 1850, at the Commissioners' first meeting in the building. He also suspended a series of carpets approximately twenty-four feet behind the painted columns and suspended some "rich damask" from the girders to suggest the finished effect.[510] As he predicted, the yellow and blue column "stood out clear and solid, whilst in the red column the red fell back to the level of the reds and brown in the carpets, and the column lost its brightness and solidity...The column coloured green, in front of the carpets, lost all form, and might as well have been of the ordinary round section, as all the advantage to be derived from its beautiful shape, adopted at the recommendation of Mr. Barry, was entirely destroyed."[511]

The Royal Commissioners appointed Prince Albert, Sir Richard Westmacott, and Sir Charles Eastlake to decide upon the building's decoration. This group accepted Jones's proposal with minor modifications suggesting that the under sides of the sash bars, which were originally intended to be painted yellow, be painted white; the ridge piece of the roof treated in blue and white, and the red should be of a lighter shade.[512] They did not accept Jones's proposal to overcome the flatness of the 1848 foot nave by suspending curved textile hangings displaying the arms of all

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[509]*Ibid.*, p. 4.
[510]*The Journal of the Great Exhibition of 1851*, Dec. 7, 1850. Jones borrowed the carpets from Jackson and Graham and this began their long and mutually beneficial association.
[511]Jones, *Decorations Proposed*, pp. 4-5.
[512]*Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

nations in the spandrels and suggesting the impact of colorful arches below the roofline [Figure 95].[513]

Others who viewed the paint trial were not as accepting as the Committee, however, and their condemnation of Jones's "prismatic" scheme reached such a level of intensity that the press dubbed the debate over the building's decoration as "the Great Paint Question."[514] Four days before the Royal Commissioners viewed the paint specimens, the *Art Journal* proclaimed that covering the slender columns with alternating stripes of vivid colour would "produce a mass of confusion to the eye, and totally destroy that harmony and simplicity which will give grandeur to the interior." They continued saying that "Small stripes of colour in violent contrast in all directions will be both painful and unsightly" and that only a barber's pole was worthy of comparison with such a scheme. They protested further, "in the strongest terms, against the commonplace vulgarity of the conception" and maintained that "added to its other evils will be the injury it will do the colours of a majority of the goods exhibited."[515]

Similar censure by *The Times* and other publications prompted letters from readers and the submission of new proposals for the decoration. One of these alternatives was put forth by C. Bruce Allen who claimed that his scheme offered *novelty* and *ease of execution.* He envisioned painting the iron columns *pure white* and painting each of the seven aisles in a different color of the solar spectrum. This meant that the center aisle would be yellow with the aisles on one side of the center painted orange, red, and purple, while those on the opposite side would be green,

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[513]No reason is given for the rejection of this scheme, but expense seems the logical factor since cost was a major factor in every decision. In addition, the two thousand pounds appropriated for decoration was intended for painting and acceptance of this idea would have required another appropriation. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[514]The controversy over the decoration became so intense that *The Builder* changed the titles of the articles on the topic from "The Decoration of the Building in Hyde-Park" to "The Great Paint Question," *The Builder*, January 11, 1851, p. 18.

[515]*Art Journal*, Dec. 1, 1850, p. 383.

blue, and violet. He then planned to place decorative ornament in two colors only on the iron columns above the level of the capitals.[516]

The extent of the criticism and number of proposals proffered such as Allen's forced Jones to address the Royal Institute of British Architects to refute his detractors. On December 16, he faced an exceptionally crowded meeting of his peers to explain how he planned to enhance the grandeur of Paxton's building "by a system of coloring, which, by marking *distinctly* every line in the building, will increase the height, the length, and the bulk" of the building.[517] He supported his ideas by citing historic examples of the use of the primary colors in Egyptian, Byzantine, and medieval decoration, and explained the contemporary experiments with color carried out by Field. He then asked his colleagues to picture the elimination of "the glare of light by which this decoration is now seen...and fill it, in imagination, with the gorgeous products of every clime." He understood that while it was difficult for someone trained in the arts to conceive of this arrangement and to estimate future harmonies, it was virtually impossible for the "uninstructed spectator, who, from the experimental decoration of a *single* column, draws a premature, and, necessarily, a fallacious inference as to the collective effect of the whole." For his own part, he "had confident hope,--grounded on the experience of years devoted to this particular branch of art, that the principles and plans" he proposed "for the decoration of this magnificent structure" would not disappoint the public or be unworthy of the great occasion for which they were produced.[518]

By this time, the "Great Paint Question" had aroused such interest that *The Times* and other daily papers reprinted Jones's speech the following day. Other major periodicals, including *The Illustrated London News, The Builder,* the *Athenaeum,* and the *Civil Engineer and Architects Journal* included the text in their

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[516]*The Builder,* Dec. 7, 1850, p. 580.
[517]Jones, *Decorations Proposed,* p. 2.
[518]*Ibid.*, p. 5.

next issues.[519] The result was an increased outpouring of vehement opposition to his proposal. *The Builder* and *Athenaeum* printed several of these attacks as well as suggestions for alternatives. One writer, a painter named E. V. Rippingill, accused Jones of providing no information, of being incorrect on the matter of color, and of devising a plan without a foundation in science or common sense. He insisted that "weak colours will fully serve the purpose of decoration; that strong colours attacking the eye must be highly prejudicial to the effect; and that therefore the 'primaries,' blue, red, and yellow, ought to be dispensed with altogether." Instead he recommended "pinks, tender greens, with a little orange,--the daylight and the glass supplying a variety of prismatic tints, will be found, if well disposed, all that can be required in the way of decoration." He concluded that "the whole of these tints, combined, ought to produce a neutral tone--a warm, tender gray, upon which the multiplicity of coloured objects exhibited will show themselves to the best advantage."[520]

The furor over the decoration of the building continued unabated into January with the introduction of more alternative schemes and renewed attacks on Jones. The extent and fierceness of the debate caused one observer to remark that "the question seems to be thought worth even more deliberation than the design of the structure itself."[521] One writer, a clergyman, wrote to the *Times* suggesting the use of embossed tablets, based on those found in the Alhambra, to adorn the ribs and other building supports with the message "Glory be to God in the Highest and on Earth Peace, Goodwill toward Men."[522] The Executive Committee also received

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[519] *The Illustrated London News* printed part of the text on Dec. 21, 1850, p. 478, and the full text in a supplement on Dec. 28, 1850, p. 518; for *The Builder*, the *Athenaeum*, and the *Civil Engineer and Architects Journal*, see the issues for December 21, 1850, p. 604-5, 1347-8, and 33 respectively.

[520] *The Builder*, Dec. 28, 1850, p. 614.

[521] *The Builder*, Jan. 18, 1851, p. 580.

[522] *The Illustrated London News, Jan. 25, 1851*, p. 58.

recommendations to incorporate ornamental texts addressing "the noble and universal purposes of the Exhibition."[523]

In addition to the venting of public outrage and concern, the controversy also granted an opportunity for decorators and painters to enhance their reputations by disputing Jones's scheme and forwarding their own proposals. One decorator, John G. Crace, a member of the distinguished family firm of royal decorators, approached Paxton with his scheme and then submitted the plan to *The Builder*.[524] Crace began by rejecting Jones's idea of painting the columns yellow, white, and blue, since he perceived that to be an appropriate treatment for wood, but not for metal. Instead, he advocated painting "the flats of the columns a pale bronze green, and the circular parts of maroon red,--such a colour as is often given by anti-corrosive paint to ironwork." He followed Jones's method of separating the two colors selected, without acknowledgement, but chose a subdued gold instead of white for his mediator. He continued this scheme on the girders, painting the framing bronze green, the braces maroon red, and relieving them with light lines.[525]

The decorative painter, Frederick Sang, also wanted to emphasize the metallic composition of the structure.[526] He suggested painting the columns a pale bronze

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[523]*Ibid.*

[524]The fact that Crace approached Paxton suggests that the relationship between Jones and Paxton may have been cool due to Jones's support of, or design of, the Building Committee's plan. Problems between Paxton on the one side and Jones and Matthew Digby Wyatt, on the other, occurred in the rebuilding of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham. In that building, Jones protested against the admission of Crace and other firms, approved by Paxton, to execute some of the decorations in that structure. *The Craces: Royal Decorators 1768-1899,* ed. by Megan Aldrich, Brighton, The Royal Pavilion Art Gallery and Museums, 1990.

[525]*The Builder,* Jan. 11, 1851, p. 18.

[526]Sang was the decorator of the Coal Exchange and the Reform Club. He marketed his services in the *Illustrated London News* with the following advertisement: "Decorative Painting.--Mr. Frederick Sang from the Royal Academy of Munich, Decorative Artist in Fresco and all other manner of Painting, whose works may be seen in the principal public buildings of the metropolis, begs to inform his patrons, and Architects in particular, that he has considerably increased his establishment, and is now enabled to undertake, on the shortest notice, the embellishment of private and public buildings, in any part of the United Kingdom, on the most reasonable terms, and in any of the Classical, Medieval, or Modern styles.--Apply to F. SANG Decorative Artist, 58, Pall Mall, London".

color to transform "the iron into a nobler metal of bronze" and the walls in "a cheerful neutral tint."[527] He rejected Jones's use of primary colors saying that just as no artist would enclose a painting in a gaudily painted frame, the Exhibition should not insult the products displayed by placing them in a gaudily painted building. Ironically, he also proposed completing the glass of the roof in a manner capable of rivaling the stained-glass of York and Cologne Cathedrals. These remarks provoked immediate criticism for their obvious inconsistencies. Others were quick to point out that the idea of truth to material did not permit painting one metal to look like another and, further, that the effect of sun streaming through colored glass would produce an even stronger and less controlled use of color than the plan proposed by Jones.[528]

The number and variety of attacks and the superficiality of the proposed alternatives demonstrated a pervasive ignorance about the use of color in architecture. Many of the derogators called Jones's knowledge into question, but no one proposed a plan with greater clarity or a scheme which captured the attention and acclaim of the public or the profession.[529] Meanwhile, Jones remained calm, steadfastly directing the decoration according to his original plan.[530] As the work advanced enough for Jones's vision to become apparent, opinion began to change. The first indication of this shift appeared in the press on Wednesday, Jan. 15, 1851. The *Times* incorrectly reported that "a small portion of the transept roof has been painted in the colours decided upon by the commissioners, who it will be recollected, modified the more objectionable features of Mr. Owen Jones's design. The effect promises well, the brilliant blue especially looking extremely cool and refreshing."

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[527]*The Times,* Sat., Jan. 4, 1851.
[528]*The Athenaeum,* Jan. 18, 1851, p. 87.
[529]*Ibid.*
[530]*The Building News,* April 24, 1874, p. 440.

They predicted that "In a few days this part of the work will be more advanced, and its merits can then be more fairly canvassed."[531]

On January 25, the *Illustrated London News* reported the progress without editorial comment:

> The bays of the transept have been submitted to the hands of the decorator, and, as far as he has gone, he has decidedly achieved an agreeable result. The under-side of each of the twenty-four ribs corresponds in colour with that decorating the square fillets of the columns supporting the ribs, viz. light blue; the part of the under-side corresponding to the circular surface of the column is in deep chrome-yellow; upon each side of this colour is a stripe of white, dividing it from the blue; upon the smaller ribs, the "returns" are coloured red, the edges chrome, and the sides blue; the diagonal tie-rods are painted bright yellow, with gilt centres, the sash-bars white, and the cross-bracings blue.[532]

By January 30 sufficient progress on the exterior painting had been made for the *Times* to report that "it appears now decided that the colors to be used are blue and white, the wood panelling of the ground tier being stained so as to bring these colours out more prominently."[533] The article continued by explaining that the decision to go ahead with the blue and white scheme meant that the Commissioners had abandoned the original plan to paint the exterior in a "plain stone colour" and had adopted Jones's arrangement.[534] The writer capitulated by saying "whatever difference of opinion there may be as to the taste displayed by that gentleman in his contemplated mode of painting the interior, the praise of a happy selection of colours for the outside of the building will not be denied to him." The writer even went so far as to say "if any doubt remained on the subject, it would be dissipated by the view of a small portion of the north front, where a specimen of Mr. Jones's plan is exhibited side by side with the suggestions of others," but his remarks on the

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[531] *The Times,* Wed., Jan. 15, 1851. p. 58.
[532] The *Illustrated London News,* January 25, 1851.
[533] *The Times,* Jan. 30, 1851. p. 4.
[534] For authorization of the plain color see Minutes of the Thirty-first Meeting of the Royal Commission, December 5, 1850, Archives of the Royal Commissioners for the 1851 Exhibition, Windsor Archives, Vol. V, #64.

interior were still negative. Although the reporter conceded that "the effect of the small portion of painting already executed is not so unfavorable as from the experimental specimen might have been anticipated," he maintained that "the style of decoration is not what it ought to be." He continued with the equivocation "when a man of Mr. Jones' eminence as a decorator is intrusted with a work of this kind, it is only fair that he should be allowed, both by the public who criticize, and by the commissioners who employ him, considerable license in the execution of his designs," but then criticized the architect for not being reasonable, saying that he should "not perversely adhere to his own preconceived ideas of a certain decorative style to be adopted, when both the commissioners and the public have urged on him the propriety of some modifications." He challenged the architect with the warning "we put it to him (Owen Jones) whether an obstinate adherence to his own views on the subject is likely to conciliate approbation" and continued "it would be mortifying, after having entirely succeeded in the execution of a building suited to receive the choicest specimens of the world's industry, if we did not do full justice to it in the style of embellishment."[535]

After this ebullition, the brief entry on February 3, reporting that "Mr. Owen Jones says there will be no difficulty about the decorations" comes as a surprise.[536] Perhaps the brevity of this remark reflects the dilemma of an adamant press beginning to realize their error in judgment as each day advanced the amount of painting observable. On the interior, iron straps had been suspended from the trusses to support scaffold poles; boards laid upon these poles provided the platforms necessary to enable four to five hundred workmen to paint the interior rapidly.[537]

As more of the painting was finished, opinion shifted further. Members of the press rationalized their changed reactions by either charging that the placement of

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[535]*The Times,* Thurs., Jan. 30, 1851.
[536]*The Times,* Feb., 3, 1851.
[537]McKean, p.28.

the original paint test had interfered with a correct impression of the intended scheme, or argued falsely that Jones had muted the colors in the final execution.[538] Some tried to distance themselves from the initial skepticism and condemnation previously hurled at Jones. This posture was taken by the *Journal* which printed that: "*The Times* and some of its correspondents were very hostile at first to Mr. OWEN JONES'S proposed decorations as being too rich in colour. We always maintained the contrary, contending that with such narrow stripes of colour, amid so much light and in so large a space, strong colours only would be visible." This report continued saying that the *Journal* was "glad to see that *The Times* had at length come round to the same opinion."[539] The reporter also quoted an authority who championed Jones's plan and refuted the other schemes proffered. This expert observed that the English were "afraid of vulgarity except in black, snuff brown, bottle green, or some such dismal hue, and perhaps this bent of the general taste helped to swell the disapproval of Mr. Jones's plan when first propounded." Whatever the reason for the initial disapproval, the speaker felt that two points were now certain: "The first is, that his [Jones's] system of internal decoration is the best that has yet been suggested; and the second, that the most gaudy colours will be toned down to such an extent that the eye cannot be disagreeably affected by them." The speaker explained that this toning down would occur with the reduction of light imposed by the canvas, with the infusion of color from "the immense mass of manufactured articles" exhibited, and from the 8:5:3 proportional combination of colors which would result in the colorless light Jones had predicted.[540]

On the same day that this article appeared, *The Times* reported that Jones had just finished "a plan of the disposition of space on a large scale" and "intended that

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[538]*The Times,* Thurs., Jan. 30, 1851; The *Journal*, February 26, 1851; *Ecclesiologist*, 1851, pp. 269-273, and the *Art Journal*, 1851, p. 151.
[539]The *Journal*, February 26, 1851.
[540]*Ibid.*

all the stalls shall be covered with red cloth or pink calico, by which means not only will the unsightly wood-work be concealed, but a warmth of colouring will be imparted to the whole ground area of the building, which, combined with the great mass of blue overhead and the yellow stripes on the columns, will produce a most harmonious and brilliant effect."[541] Jones specified the red, which he called "Turkey red," and paint to satisfy the 8:5:3 proportions outlined by Field.[542] In this way, the roof, painted in blue and white and the columns, in blue, white, and yellow, would distinguish the building's components at the same time that they unified and enhanced the appearance of the structure through the effects of perspective and parallax.[543] In a similar manner, the pervasive use of the Turkish red on the stalls and hangings provided a uniform background to the disparate displays and completed the formula promoted in Field's chromatic theory.[544]

As preparations neared completion, Jones's success was assured. Lord Granville wrote to Colonel Grey saying that "The Building will look better than His Royal Highness or any of us expected"[545] and the press described the progress as follows:

> As to the calico covering, the effect of it upon the internal decorations will in a remarkable manner verify the accuracy of the anticipative sketches which Mr. Owen Jones months ago laid before the commissioners. In gloomy dark days, the brilliant appearance of the structure will be somewhat impaired, but when the weather is fine the shade will prove refreshing and agreeable. A considerable portion of the Turkey red cloth used in the lining of stalls, and as a back ground for the gallery railings, has been placed, and this, combined

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[541] *The Times,* Wed., Feb. 26, 1851.
[542] *The Times,* Windsor Archives, Vol. VI.
[543] Peter Collins discusses the effects of parallax in architecture in *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978, pp. 26-27, 292-3.
[544] April 15, 1851, the Finance Committee approved the expenditure of 300*l.* "for red calico and cloth, where absolutely necessary" and "180*l.* for colouring the rough boards throughout the Building, as a substitute for red cloth," Minutes of the Thirty-eighth Meeting of the Commissioners, Appendix A, Archives of the Royal Commissioners for the 1851 Exhibition, Windsor Archives, Volume VI, #82.
[545] Archives of the Royal Commissioners for the 1851 Exhibition, Windsor Archives, Volume IV, #35.

> with the masses of brilliant colours beginning to show all over the area of the building tells with the best effect upon the general aspect of the interior. It now gradually expands, and warms into a perfect picture, the tints of which are most harmoniously blended, and the *coup d'oeil* surprisingly beautiful.[546]

On the day the Great Exhibition opened [Figure 96], reaction from the poets, the press, and the public was overwhelming and unrestrained in support of Jones's effort.[547] One observer praised his "wonderful power in illumination" and "his superior taste and skill."[548] This time, descriptions of his originality and accomplishments in creating a "very fairy land of beauty and wonder,"[549] and "a palace of the Arabian nights evolved by magic on England's sober soil" were intended as tributes, not accusations.[550] As usual, the best reporting and assessment, as Hitchcock noted,[551] appeared in the *Illustrated London News.* The following description which they reported on May 1, 1851, is important in trying to gage the effect of Jones's scheme upon the visitor:

> On entering the South transept a spectacle is afforded which fills the mind with wonder and produces an overwhelming effect upon the senses from the novelty, the grandeur and beauty. The surpassing beauty is in great measure owing to the lights and shadows and colors with which the objects are presented to view, and which have rendered the building the most attractive in the World. The transept is the most brilliantly lighted in as much as the noble arched roof is left open to the sky and not covered with calico like the remainder of the building. Passing from this central spot the light becomes

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[546]"The Great Exhibition," *The Times,* Archives of the Royal Commissioners for the 1851 Exhibition, Windsor Archives, Vol. VII, #2.

[547]Thackeray described the effect as viewing "A palace as for fairy prince," Boris Ford, *The Romantic Age in Britain,* Vol. 6., Cambridge, University Press, p. 224.

[548]*The Bible Class Magazine,* April, 1851, p. 90.

[549]As Hitchcock, Wildman, and other writers on past exhibitions have observed, it is almost impossible to try and recapture the effect of a demolished building relying on the imprecise images created at the time. Contemporary descriptions do not accomplish the task, but must be considered as evidence, though imprecise, of the impact of the building. The descriptions used in this chapter have been selected to represent both the views of trained and untrained observers.

[550]Lichten, p. 83. Hitchcock reports that "over-all polychromy was a major critical excitement of the moment even though it was not generally accepted as desirable. Nowhere had it been employed so extensively as at the Crystal Palace." Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture,* p. 546.

[551]Hitchcock, "Early Cast Iron Facades," *Architectural Review,* 1951, p. 113.

> more subdued in every direction; and, as the eye wanders up the vistas, the three primitive colors of Sir D. Brewster, red, yellow, and blue, strike the eye by the intensity of their brightness in the foreground; but by blending in the distance, by the effect of parallax and diminished visual angle, the whole as in nature disappears into a neutral gray. To appreciate the genius of Owen Jones, the visitor must take his stand at the extremity of the building - Looking up the nave, with its endless rows of pillars, the scene vanished from extreme brightness to the hazy indistinctness which Turner alone can paint.[552]

Professor Donaldson called it "the most successful edifice of modern times."[553] Ruskin ridiculed Paxton's effort, calling it "a cucumber frame,"[554] and two years later, wrote in *The Stones of Venice* that he had "never yet seen a painted building, ancient or modern, which seemed...quite right" to him.[555] In the same text, Ruskin said that columns should never be painted with vertical stripes, and it is not difficult to imagine what well-known building prompted that dictate.[556] Most observers, however, echoed the sense of awe-inspiring beauty described in the quotation above. Obviously, the novelty of Paxton's structure and Jones's genius combined to generate and orchestrate these emotions of pride and pleasure. Viewers agreed with the reaction of *The Westminster Review's* reporter who wrote: "nothing can be more beautiful than the sky-blue tint of the roof of the nave. Before the external cloth was on, the spectator might have imagined it a carven sky. The effect also on looking diagonally amongst the columns from the gallery, is very fine in its geometrical effect."[557]

Another writer, Mrs. Merrifield, provided a similar description to the *Art Journal Catalogue;* she maintained that the interior perspective, softened under the miles of calico veil covering the glazed roof:

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[552]*Illustrated London News,* May 10, 1851, p. 392.
[553]Ford, *The Romantic Age in Britain,* p. 282.
[554]Brooks, p. 84.
[555]Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice,* p. 103.
[556]Ford, *The Romantic Age in Britain,* p. 282.
[557]The effect "looking diagonally amongst the columns" is the effect of parallax which Jones sought. The quotation appears in *The Westminster Review,* American edition, :p. 182.

> appears to be enveloped in a blue haze, as if it were open to the air, the warm tint of the canvas roof contrasts with the light blue colour of the girders into which it is insensibly lost, and harmonizing with the blue sky above the transept [which had no canvas veil outside], produces an appearance so pleasing, and at the time so natural, that it is difficult to distinguish where art begins and nature finishes.[558]

The German critic, Lothar Bucher, published the following explanation of the effect of the color:

> If we let our gaze slowly move downwards again, it encounters the filigreed girders, painted blue, far apart from each other at first, then moving ever closer, then superimposed on each other, then interrupted by a dazzling band of light [the crossing of the unveiled crystal transept], then finally dissolving in a remote background in which everything corporeal, even the lines themselves, disappear and only the colour remains. I had the impression that the coarse matter with which architecture works was completely dissolved in colour. The building was not decorated with colour, but built up of it.'[559]

The success of Jones's unprecedented scheme is more remarkable when the circumstances are considered; Jones had to anticipate unfamiliar visual effects in an enormous structure to be filled with unpredictable contents. Fortunately, his observations of the effects produced in the vast structures of ancient architecture and his interest in the latest optical studies on color and sensation enabled him to unite the effects produced by the building and its contents into one harmonious unity.[560] He accomplished this objective by placing brilliant colors closest to the viewer to visually "anchor" the building and give concordance to disparate objects. Once this grounding in the familiar was achieved, he was free to use color to "mimic infinity"- accenting the inevitable de-materialization of the structure, and creating a sublime spectacle of a "general lightness and fairy-like brilliance never before dreamed of."[561] This successful use of applied color transformed the same materials and construction which become boring in a factory into a magical atmosphere.

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[558]McKean, *Crystal Palace,* p. 33.
[559]McKean, p. 36.
[560]*The Architect,* XI, April 25, 1874, p. 235.
[561]McKean, pp. 28-29.

The following description, read with an awareness of Jones's pervasive eye and hand, strengthens the appreciation of his overall contribution:

> The shock of delighted surprise which everyone felt on first entering the great transept of Joseph Paxton's building was a sensation as noble as it was deep. Its vastness was measured by the huge elms, two of the giants of the park, which rose far into the air with all their wealth of foliage as free and unconfined as if there was nothing between them and the open sky. The plash [sic] of fountains, the luxuriance of tropical foliage, the play of colours from the choicest flowers, carried on into the vistas of the nave by the rich dyes of carpets and stuffs from the costliest looms, were enough to fill the eye and mind with a pleasure never to be forgotten, even without the vague sense of what lay beyond in the accumulated results of human ingenuity and cultivated art. One general effect of beauty has been produced by the infinitely varied work of the thousands who had separately co-operated towards this marvelous display; and the structure in which it was set, by its graceful lines and the free play of light which is admitted, seemed to fulfil every condition that could be desired for setting off the treasures thus brought together.[562]

The success of the Great Exhibition and the popularity of the Crystal Palace elevated Jones to the position of a popular hero and a recognized authority on color and design. He used the spotlight to campaign for his three major objectives: architectural reform, improved design education, and the elevation of public taste. His efforts started, in June 1851, the month after the opening of the Exhibition.[563] He began by publishing a series of articles in the *Journal of Design* entitled "Gleanings from the Great Exhibition of 1851." These articles combined a discussion of objects on display at the Exhibition with theoretical issues involving architecture and the decorative arts. The timeliness of these observations allowed readers to revisit the Exhibition to study the examples highlighted by Jones and subject his ideas to further scrutiny.[564]

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[562]The Rev. James Taylor, D. D., "*The Age We Live In,*" Beaver, pp. 37-40.

[563]Obviously, he had been active in pursuing these objectives before the Great Exhibition, but his efforts after the Exhibition gained increased attention due to his standing and authority relative to the success of the Exhibition.

[564]The first article appeared June 28, 1851, Volume v, pp. 89-93; for the remainer of the series, see *Journal of Design.* Vol. V, p. 177, and Vol. VI, pp. 57-59, 137-139, and pp. 174-176.

The first article repeated the chronology delivered in "The Influence of Religion Upon Art" lecture and reiterated the concept of the bond between architecture and culture advanced in that lecture. He referenced items displayed in the Exhibition to prove his argument, contrasting the overwrought, tasteless products produced by the Western nations with the superior contributions from India and countries of the Middle East. He repeated these observations and developed them further in lectures and other written material produced at the close of the Exhibition.

Part of the profits realized in the Great Exhibition were allocated for the purchase of items from the displays to add to the collections of the Government Schools of Design.[565] Henry Cole, Richard Redgrave, A. W. N. Pugin, and Owen Jones formed the committee authorized to spend *L*5,000 to obtain these items. They selected English wares, including Pugin's 'Mediaeval' press or cabinet, plus candlesticks and chalices designed by Pugin and fabricated by Hardman, and electro-plate by Elkington. Foreign products purchased included French silver, metalwork, and jewelry, and, not surprisingly, a strong emphasis on Eastern manufactures, particularly textiles. The committee claimed that "Each specimen has been selected for its merit in exemplifying some right principle of construction or ornament, or some feature of workmanship to which it appeared desirable that the attention of our students and manufacturers should be directed."[566] The only art magazine of the period, the *Art Journal,* said the committee performed their responsibilities satisfactorily.[567]

Henry Cole was appointed General Superintendent of the School of Design in 1852 and immediately initiated a program of aggressive reform and expanded

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[565]In *Mechanization Takes Command,* Giedion points out the fact that Cole, Jones, and the other member's of the Cole Circle believed that "contact with good examples was in itself edifying". Siegfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command,* New York and London, W. W. Norton & Company, 1948, p. 353.

[566]Morris, p. 20. This method follows Seroux D'Agincourt's philosophy, see Footnote 255.

[567]*Art Journal,*1852, p. 277.

practical instruction.[568] He enlarged and strengthened the faculty, appointing Gottfried Semper (1803-1879) Professor of metalwork, pottery and furniture,[569] and charging C. J. Richardson, the Elizabethan Revivalist, to establish evening classes in architectural detail and construction.

Cole also pleaded the case for larger facilities to Prince Albert who responded by offering Marlborough House with the understanding that the building would be used for the school and a new Museum of Manufactures, soon renamed the Museum of Ornamental Art.[570] Jones worked with Cole and Richard Redgrave (1804-1888) designing exhibitions for the new facility and preparing the catalogue explaining the purpose of the objects on display.[571] The catalog explained their objectives saying: "Some specimens are included...to illustrate the history of various manufactures,--some for extreme skill of manufacture or workmanship, whilst others are intended to present to the manufacturer and the public choice examples of what science and art have accomplished in manufactures of all kinds, and this not so much with a view to the works being copied or imitated, as to show that perfection and beauty *in art* are not matters of caprice or dependent upon the fancy of the beholder any more than perfection and beauty *in nature*."[572] The catalogue also contained an explanation on the "Formation of the Museum" written by Cole, Jones, and Redgrave and other essays including: "Observations on Some of the Specimens of Metal Work" by Semper, "Observations on the Collection of Indian Examples" by Jones, and an excerpt from Professor Forbes's Lecture on "Animal Forms" entitled "Principles of Science and Art." The most important section, however, constituted the "Principles

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[568]Morris, p. 18.

[569]Semper had been in England working on the Great Exhibition of 1851. He remained in the post of the Professor of metalwork, pottery and furniture from 1852-1855.

[570]Morris, p. 18.

[571]Redgrave taught art in the Government Schools of Design. He was heavily influenced by Jones and many of his publications include ideas attributable to Jones.

[572]*A Catalogue of the Museum of Ornamental Art, at Marlborough House,* 5th ed., London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1853, p. 1.

of Decorative Art" developed by Jones. He presented these principles in a series of lectures given at the Museum in 1852, selecting items from the collection to illustrate his arguments.[573] The first four principles are essential to Jones's position on architecture; the next seven involve general principles applicable to the decorative arts and the remaining axioms concern "*The Laws which govern the employment of Colour illustrated by the Woven Fabrics of the Collection.*"

The first principle states that: "The decorative arts arise from, and should properly be attendant upon, architecture."[574] Jones believed that Architecture was "the great parent of all ornamentation" and, therefore, the only way to identify the general principles necessary to govern the use of form and color in the Decorative Arts had to derive from a study of Architecture. To support this assumption, he argued that, in every age except his own, the same system of ornamentation and coloration used in architecture pervaded all the elements of a society down to the simplest utensils. As an example, he pointed to the fact that "the ornaments on a mummy-case are analogous to those of an Egyptian temple; the painted vases of the Greeks are but the reflex of the paintings of their temples; the beautiful cushions and slippers of Morocco...are adorned with the same ornaments, having the same, colours, as are to be found on the walls of the Alhambra."[575]

Jones argued that "it is far different with ourselves. We have no principles, no unity; the architect, the upholsterer, the paper-stainer, the weaver, the calico-printer, and the potter, run each their independent course" with the result that "each struggles fruitlessly, each produces in art novelty without beauty, or beauty without intelligence."[576] He chastised the Architect for abdicating his high office as

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[573]The lectures were given on June 5, 10, 17, and 24, 1852 at 3 p.m. and on June 7, 12, 21, and 28 at 8 p.m. *Catalogue of Ornamental Articles*, 1852. Jones also lectured in the Museum on June 20 and June 28, 1852, according to Cole's diary entries.

[574]Jones, *Lectures on articles in the Museum of the Department of Science and Art*, London, 1852 (1855), p. 4. Hereafter, *Lectures on articles*, with page.

[575]*Ibid.*

[576]*Ibid*

the natural head and chief of all the comforts and embellishment of the home and for being "content to form the skeleton it should have also been his task to clothe,"[577] relinquishing "to inferior and unguided hands the delicate modeling of the tissues and the varied colouring of the surface."[578] The result was "discordance and incongruity" and "the universal practice of copying and reproducing extinct styles from whole buildings taken bodily, down to the meanest detail which can be scraped from hole or corner."[579] He observed that the more the knowledge of antique styles improved, the more it was misapplied, "unblushingly," in current practice.[580]

These disorderly and unsatisfactory conditions lead him to develop definitions of Architecture and Style as his second principle. He summarized Architecture as "the material expression of the wants, the faculties, and the sentiments of the age in which it is created" and explained "Style in architecture" as "the peculiar form that expression takes under the influence of climate and materials at command."[581] Before discussing these interpretations further, he quoted definitions of Architecture expressed by four other respected authorities: Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, Seroux D'Agincourt, John Ruskin, and Matthew Digby Wyatt.

The choice of these four theorists is interesting. Jones selected three theorists with whom he was associated personally and theoretically. Pugin and Jones had worked together to form the Museum's collection and espoused parallel philosophies with one notable exception: Pugin's obsession with the Gothic Revival and Jones's rejection of it. Likewise, Jones was known as the English translator of Seroux D'Agincourt's *The History of Art* and an advocate of many of the ideas included within that text. Jones was also associated with Matthew Digby Wyatt in the context of their work on both Crystal Palaces and their similar interests in the

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[577] *Ibid.*
[578] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
[579] *Ibid.*
[580] *Ibid.*
[581] *Ibid.*

development of encaustic tiles, the study of textiles, and their commitment to professional activities.[582]

Jones's inclusion of Ruskin, his theoretical adversary, is interesting. Ruskin gained popularity after the publication of *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), and it seems logical that Jones would include him as representing new ideas in the prevailing debates on architecture. Jones selected the following passages:

> The history of Architecture is the history of the world.---*A. W. N. Pugin.*
>
> The influence of the causes which act most powerfully on the genius of the arts, after the climate, are the manners, religion, and the changes to which a nation is subject in its political state during the course of the ages.---*Seroux D'Agincourt.*
>
> Unless art is the expression of the system it should illustrate, it loses at once its greatest claim on admiration, and fails to awaken any feelings of sympathy in the heart of the spectator.---*A. W. N. Pugin.*
>
> Architecture is the art which so disposes and adorns the edifices raised by man, for whatsoever uses, that the sight of them contributes to his mental health, power, and pleasure.---*Ruskin.*
>
> Architecture concerns itself only with those characters of an edifice which are above and beyond its common uses.--*Ruskin.*
>
> In what are generally understood as styles in the history of art, such as the Grecian, the Roman, the Gothic, the Renaissance, &c., may be recognised deeply interesting accumulations of experience concerning the nature of man's intuitive affections for certain concatenations of form.---*M. D. Wyatt.*
>
> Styles are usually complete in themselves; and although not of uniform excellence, are still generally concordant amongst all the various members that compose them.---*M. D. Wyatt.*[583]

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[582] *The Builder's* obituary for Sir (Matthew) Digby Wyatt reads: "Among the fellow-workers with whom he was a good deal allied ... were Brunel and Owen Jones, and between the latter and Digby Wyatt, who had many interests in common with him, there sprang up a close friendship, dating probably from this period, and which seemed to have its public as well as its private phase; as it certainly happened, whether accidentally or otherwise, that the two men were working together continually throughout their life, till the earlier death of Owen Jones put a close to this brotherhood in art-work; if Digby Wyatt was on a committee for considering a subject, Owen Jones was almost certain to be a colleague, and *vice versa*. *The Builder,* Vol. XXXV, June 2, 1877, p. 545.

[583] Jones, *Lectures on articles,* pp. 5-6.

Jones responded to these passages by saying "Most truly can we say with Pugin, that the history of Architecture is the history of the world. So with Agincourt, that the different phases which Architecture underwent in every nation, form the history of the manners, religion, and the changes to which that nation was subject, in the course of the ages."[584] He does not refer to or endorse Ruskin, however, and the passages selected seem out of place in the context of the others. It is tempting to suspect that Jones included the remarks of his adversary to contrast the irrational subjectivity of Ruskin to the historically-based consensus of the others.

Jones uses the ideas expressed by Pugin, Seroux D'Agincourt, and Digby Wyatt as a springboard or introduction to his own philosophy which he states as:

> As in the colours of Nature we have the primary colours, and the second and tertiary colours of every variety of tone and shade arising from the admixture of their primaries, so in Architecture we shall find several well-marked primary styles, which become more or less broken in hue or removed from the primary source as the local influences would allow, or as successive changes took place in the institutions of the countries which gave them birth.
>
> Thus in Egypt, under the Pharoahs, we have a well-marked primary style, which by admixture with Greek elements became secondary under the Ptolemies, and tertiary and still further reduced from its primary under the Romans.
>
> We have another well-marked primary style in Greece, which, transplanted to Rome, even with the additional elements added by the Romans, never reached beyond a secondary, where it withered and died; but, transplanted again to Byzantium, from its ashes sprang on the one hand, by slow progression, Gothic architecture, and on the other the Arabian, each in their turn to give birth to their secondaries and tertiaries.
>
> Thus we have the Gothic of France, of Germany, of Italy, of Spain, of England, each bearing relation to their primary, but modified in hue to a secondary by the surrounding local influences.[585]

He continued to develop this idea, citing the modifications to Arabian architecture evident in Egypt, Turkey, Spain, and India, and the similar regional alterations manifest in the revived classical style in Italy witnessed in Venice, Lombardy,

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[584] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[585] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

Florence, Bologna, Rome, and in Spain, in France, and in England. He maintained that "each of these styles, whether primary, secondary, or tertiary, was constantly in a state of progression" and that "every building of any importance, which required time for its construction, exhibits in its complete state the various phases which art underwent during its progress." He said this was as true in the temples of the Pharoahs as in the cathedrals of the Middle Ages.[586] In contrast, he found the prevailing historicism of his age "absurd" when considered in the context of the particularity and evolution of these earlier styles and declared that it was "vain and foolish" to "attempt to make the art which faithfully represents the wants, the faculties, and the feelings of one people, represent those of another people under totally different conditions!"[587]

At this point, he continued his discussion of Architecture by repeating the arguments from "The Influence of Religion Upon Art," beginning with the affirmation that "each primary style arose with the civilisation which created it, and was more especially the result of the prevailing religious institutions."[588] In his words, religion assumed the roles of teacher, priest, and artist in the architecture of Egypt, Greece, Rome, and Christianity. Further, Christianity, like the pagan styles, had experienced "its hour of faith, its day of joy and intoxication, its time of lingering, disease, and death."[589]

He concluded that the most glorious and beautiful style had been produced by the Christians during the period when "science and art, religion and love, ministered to it under the influence of faith...; yet it had worn itself out by feebleness and indifference when the Reformation came and destroyed it altogether."[590] He believed that after the Reformation, "Christian churches failed to represent

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[586]*Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
[587]*Ibid.*, p. 7.
[588]*Ibid.*, p. 8.
[589]*Ibid.*, p. 12. Ideas expressed earlier in Winckelmann and modified in Seroux D'Agincourt.
[590]*Ibid.* These beliefs were shared by A.W.N. Pugin.

Christian thoughts";[591] instead, the exteriors represented heathen temples and the interiors became theatres with meaningless emblems from pagan altars decorating the temple of the One God."[592]

It is obvious from the quotes above, by Pugin, Seroux D'Agincourt, and Wyatt, that Jones was not alone in perceiving architecture as the product of the culture, and particularly the religion that produced it. Criticism of contemporary Christian architecture was also common and condemnation of the Reformation as the destroyer of the unified Christian faith was universal. The pervasiveness of these ideas within literature and the popular culture can be seen as early as 1831 in a chapter in *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* entitled "Ceci tuera cela," translated as "This will Kill That" or "The One will Kill the Other," inferring that the widespread dispersal of printing was killing architecture. In that text, Victor Hugo maintained "that architecture was, up to the fifteenth century, the chief register of humanity; that during this space of time no idea of any elaboration appeared in the world without being built into masonry."[593] He continued this observation saying "that every popular idea as well as every religious law has had its monument; in fact, that the human race has never had an important thought which it has not written in stone."[594] However, Hugo went on to develop the argument that the book would kill the building because the book was "more solid, lasting, and enduring" than the construction in stone.[595] As intriguing as Hugo's argument is, it is a digression from the main reason he is included here which is to show that many of the ideas which Jones endorsed and repeated had widespread acceptance and, were therefore, representative of the age. Hugo also referred to the "heresy" of the Reformation in

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[591]*Ibid.*

[592]*Ibid.* Pugin said: "Christian art was the natural result of the progress of Catholic feeling and devotion; and its decay was consequent on that of the faith itself". Pugin, *Contrasts,* p.7.

[593]Victor Hugo, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame,* Philadephia and London, Running Press reprint of the 1833 English edition of *Notre-Dame de Paris,* published in Boston, p. 250.

[594]*Ibid.*

[595]*Ibid.*

the same chapter, noting that "before the invention of printing, the Reformation would have been but a schism; the invention of printing made it a revolution."[596]

The similarity between Pugin's ideas on architecture, religion, and culture and Jones's has been discussed in Chapter II. Jones had great respect for Pugin, but differed with him over the Gothic Revival. Jones believed that:

> All attempts to revive Christian or rather Catholic architecture have failed, and ever will fail, to awaken universal sympathy...However beautiful they may be as copies of a bygone style, they can only illustrate the nation's material greatness and vast mechanical resources, but can reflect nothing to posterity but the favourite affectation of today.
>
> The Protestant religion has other feelings, other wants, which Catholic art cannot supply.
>
> The nave and aisles of a Gothic church become absurd when used for Protestant worship, filled with pews, when all are required to see and hear. The columns of the nave, which impede sight and sound; the aisles for processions no longer practiced; rood-screens and deep chancels for the concealment of mysteries now no longer acknowledged; are all so many useless reproductions which must be thrown aside.
>
> Were the true wants and sentiments of the Protestant faith studied by the architect, it cannot be doubted that, after time and many failures, a religious architecture would again rise which should faithfully represent them. This is rendered difficult, if not impossible, by the want of unity in the Protestant faith itself: there are almost as many sects and divisions as there are individual followers of Christ. Till this is less so, it is useless to expect that Architecture can do otherwise than represent, as it does most fully, the disordered state of man's faith.[597]

Jones rejected Pugin's call for a return to the liturgy and societal conditions of the past; instead, Jones challenged architects to study contemporary needs and developing technology in order to introduce art into the science which had become the hallmark of the age.

In presenting his third principle, "Architecture, and all works of the decorative arts; should possess fitness, proportion, harmony; the result of all which is

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[596]*Ibid.*, p. 253.

[597]Jones, *On the True and the False in the Decorative Arts*, Lectures Delivered at Marlborough House, June 1852, pp. 12-13. Hereafter, *On the True and False*, with page.

repose,"[598] Jones could have quoted Pugin, but Pugin's well-known assertion that fitness was the first principle of design probably made that unnecessary. Instead, Jones quoted Vitruvius, Sir Charles Eastlake, and his "Brother in Art," Sir Matthew Digby Wyatt. The two quotations from Vitruvius correspond to Jones's own precepts; the first is the familiar definition by the Roman architect that: "Architecture depends on fitness, arrangement, and on proportion, uniformity, consistency, and economy."[599] The second states: "The perfection of all works depends on their fitness to answer the end proposed, and on principles resulting from a consideration of Nature herself; and the ancients approved only those which by strict analogy were borne out by the appearance of utility."[600] The quotes which followed from Eastlake and Wyatt also contained references to fitness and to the study of "nature."[601]

Earlier British architects had also expressed these ideas. In the seventeenth century, Henry Wotton called for an architecture based upon "Commoditie, Firmenes, and Delight", echoing the words of Vitruvius.[602] Similarly, two centuries later, John Claudius Loudon emphasized utility and fitness as the most important elements in architecture. Loudon criticized the way many of his peers based their designs on "the accidental associations of classical, historical, and imitative beauty" instead of recognizing that utility and fitness constituted the first conditions for architectural beauty.[603] In expressing his own principles, Jones continued this theme, blaming contemporary architectural failures on the disregard for fitness in design which resulted in "public buildings with porticoes to darken light, where light would be most precious; or porticoes on the first floor, as at the London Custom-

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[598] *Idid.*, p. 16.
[599] *Ibid.*
[600] *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.
[601] *Ibid.*
[602] Archer, pp. 82 and 134.
[603] These ideas were expressed in Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine* (1828; Entry 187). Archer, p. 82.

house, which can be approached only by a ladder." Jones cited other examples including: "Temple architecture for gin-palaces or the sale of broad-cloth; Union poor-houses like noblemen's mansions of the olden time; Churches like heathen temples; Railway stations like colleges"[604] and attacked the same condition in the Decorative Arts saying: "neither the artists who design, the manufacturers who make, nor the public who purchase, ever appear to ask themselves what purpose the articles thus designed, made, and purchased are to serve."[605] He condemned "Carpets...made like wall-decorations" and "Wall-decorations, which should be flat" as "perspective representations, and pierced full of holes. The potter imitates the metal-worker, and the metal-worker the artificial-flower manufacturer, the wood-carver the puttyman; iron imitates stone, wood imitates marble."[606] He observed that "The constant struggle after novelty at any cost has led them, one and all, to throw fitness to the winds."[607]

The fourth principle concerned a point of major debate and basic doctrine in nineteenth-century architectural theory: the appropriate use of ornament. In *Ruskin on Architecture,* Kristine Garrigan calls this doctrine "the primacy of ornament."[608] Garrigan points out that ornament was essential to all of the Victorian architectural revivals, since it was "mainly through ornament that a building assumed its costume, its historical identity."[609] John Ruskin took the extreme position arguing that ornamentation was "the principal part of architecture" and that it impressed upon a building "certain characteristics venerable or beautiful, but otherwise unnecessary."[610] Ruskin contributed to the notion that "ornament

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[604]*Ibid.,* p. 17.
[605] *Ibid.,* pp. 17-18.
[606]*Ibid.,* p. 18.
[607]*Ibid.*
[608]Kristine Garrigan, *Ruskin on Architecture*, p. 167.
[609]*Ibid.*
[610]Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design,* Harmondsworth, Penguin Books ed., 1984 (Harmondsworth, 1960), p. 19.

was...a source of aesthetic gratification, a mark of cultivation, and most of all as a status symbol, a way of broadcasting institutional or individual dignity and prosperity to the world. Inevitably, therefore, ornament came to be treated as an overwhelming good in itself."[611] Garrigan contends that "the primacy of ornament can be traced also to the Victorian incapacity to understand the formal logic of new materials: their structural possibilities were difficult to envision, the decorative were not."[612] This idea may be responsible for the concentration on ornament in Ruskin's work since he was not an architect and recent investigations of his theory show his avoidance of discussions on structure.

Garrigan also argues that "the notion of the architect as a scholar, a man of culture, encouraged the definition of architecture as ornament rather than structure, the latter being the province of the uncultivated, inartistic engineer."[613] Jones and Pugin fought against this perception and tried to articulate definitions of architecture refuting the abuse of ornament and opposing the ideas of Ruskin. The fourth principle argued the reformers' position, insisting that: "Construction should be decorated. Decoration should never be purposely constructed." Jones followed this precept with a quotation also used by Pugin: "That which is beautiful is true; that which is true must be beautiful."[614] Jones also cited several other quotations from Pugin, proving their concurrence on this point. Two of these quotations refer to Pugin's "two great rules of design" which "The Great Goth" identified in the first paragraph of *True Principles* as: "1st, that there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety; 2nd, that all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the

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[611]Garrigan, p. 167.
[612]*Ibid.*
[613]*Ibid.*, p. 166.
[614]Jones, *On the True and the False,* p. 18.

building. The neglect of these two rules is the cause of all the bad architecture of the present time."[615]

Jones also introduced a simple analogy to explain his fourth principle. He started by saying that the use of two horses to draw a brougham when only one was necessary invoked a type of pleasure derived from a sense of luxury created by an excess of power. He continued the example suggesting that if the second horse were to simply run along side the first without helping to draw the carriage, a disagreeable reaction would result from an abuse of means and argued that in the same way, ornamentation, however beautiful, which had nothing to do with construction or utility was disagreeable.

Jones went further testifying to his belief that "TRUE BEAUTY CONSISTS IN THAT REPOSE WHICH THE MIND FEELS WHEN THE EYE, THE INTELLECT, AND THE AFFECTIONS, ARE SATISFIED BY THE ABSENCE OF ANY WANT."[616] As examples violating this principle, he cited objects constructed falsely, appearing to derive or give support when they did not and deducted that "every object, to afford perfect pleasure, must be fit for the purpose and true to its construction."[617] Although Ruskin also rejected "structural deceits" in his Lamp of Truth in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture,* he differed from Jones by opposing the principle of "decorated construction." Ruskin maintained that sculpture was essential to architecture and the beauty which it gave to a building bore no correspondence to the building's construction.[618] Further evidence of the opposite thinking of Jones and Ruskin on this point is seen in their reaction to Islamic ornament. Jones cited articles in the Indian Collection at Marlborough House and the decoration of the Alhambra as excellent examples of the law of decorating construction, but Ruskin refused to see

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[615]Brooks, p. 95.
[616]Jones, *On the True and the False,* p. 20.
[617]*Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.
[618]Brooks, pp. 95-96 and *The Building News,* June 2, 1865, p. 389.

any value in these examples, dismissing all Islamic ornament as the work of brutal savages.

The ideas expressed in Propositions Five through Eleven were developed in Jones's earlier writings on *The Alhambra* and in "Gleanings from the Great Exhibition." These include axioms on form, surface decoration, proportion, harmony and contrast, distribution, radiation, continuity, and on the conventionalization of natural forms. They begin with the Albertian Proposition Five,[619] stated as: "Beauty of form is produced by lines growing out from the other in gradual undulations: there are no excrescences; nothing could be removed and leave the design equally good or better."[620]

In supporting this principle, Jones quotes Vitruvius's words: "Beauty is produced by the pleasing appearance and good taste of the whole, and by the dimensions of all parts being proportioned to each other."[621] In this case, Jones is referring to "excresences, such as nobs or bosses, which would not violate the rule of construction, and yet be fatal to beauty of form, if they did not grow out gradually from the general lines."[622] He repeats the idea that "there can be no beauty of form, no perfect proportions or harmonious arrangement of lines, which do not produce repose."[623] He includes an illustration to make his point [Figure 97], saying that "All transitions of curved lines from curved, or of curved from straight, must be gradual. Thus the transition would cease to be agreeable if the break A were too deep in proportion to the curves, as at B."[624] He observes that: "where two curves are separated by a break, as in this case, they must run parallel to an imaginary line

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[619]"Beauty is that reasoned harmony of all the parts within a body, so that nothing may be added, taken away, or altered, but for the worse." Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books,* translated by Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavenor, Cambridge, MA, and London, England, The MIT Press, 1988, p. 156.
[620] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[621] *Ibid.*
[622] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.
[623] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[624] *Ibid.*

C, where the curves would be tangential to each other, for were either to depart from this, as D, the eye, instead of following gradually down the curve, would run outwards, and repose would be lost."[625] He cited the mouldings and vases of the Greeks as exhibiting the highest degree of this type of refinement.[626]

In *The Sense of Order: A study in the psychology of decorative art*, E. H. Gombrich cites the illustrations used to demonstrate Principle Five as one example of the way Jones filled a void in the work of Ruskin and Semper and introduced the psychology of perception into nineteenth-century architectural theory.[627] Gombrich notes that Jones's "diagrams demonstrating what he thought to be the greatest ease of perception look forward to the empirical work of *Gestalt* psychology"[628] and when Jones's method of analyzing the effect of curves is compared to Ruskin's discussion of curves, the huge "gulf" between the "perceptual approach" of Jones and the "graphological expressionism" of Ruskin becomes obvious.[629] This finding suggests a major factor in the antipathy between Jones's efforts to develop a logical, workable guide for architects and designers and Ruskin's emotional reaction to built works. Gombrich underscores the disparity between this pair of theorists observing that "Ruskin execrated the decoration of the Alhambra as an abomination" and that Ruskin "hated that 'perfection' and even the 'repose' Jones admired most. It was achieved, in the view of Jones, by a systematic procedure which Ruskin's impulsive artist would have found inhibiting."[630]

The sixth principle states that "The general forms being first cared for; these should be subdivided and ornamented by general lines; the interstices may then be filled in with ornament, which may again be subdivided and enriched for closer

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[625] *Ibid.*
[626] *Ibid.*
[627] E. H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order: A study in the psychology of decorative art* (1979), London, Phaidon, 1984, pp. 51-53.
[628] *Ibid.*, p. 53.
[629] *Ibid.*
[630] *Ibid.*

inspection."[631] By following this principle, "every line of the pattern adds to the general effect; the main divisions contrast admirably, and balance; the detail never interferes with the general form."[632] Moreover, when seen at a distance, the main lines are visible; as the viewer approaches the object, the detail becomes apparent; and at close inspection, the details which comprise each ornament are observable.[633]

Ruskin also discussed the perception of ornament viewed at a distance and not surprisingly, he proposed two very different "main principles to be observed in the adaptation of ornament to the sight."[634] His first technique was to reduce and rudely cut the details furthest from the eye. The second method was to adopt a different kind of design, composed of fewer parts and of simpler lines, cut with exquisite precision. Although he preferred the second method, he realized that both systems contained an equal degree of imperfection, describing them as: "in the first, a bald execution of a perfect design; in the second, a baldness of design with perfect execution" and characteristically concluded that "in these very imperfections lies the admirableness of the ornament."[635] The contrast between Ruskin's graduated and varied ornament and Jones's uniformity is obvious.

Proposition Seven also deals with ornament:

> As in every perfect work of architecture a true proportion will be found to reign between all the members which compose it, so throughout the decorative arts every assemblage of forms should be arranged on certain definite proportions; the whole and each particular member should be a multiple of some simple unit.[636]

Jones believed that the most beautiful proportions were the ones most difficult for the eye to detect. As a result, he observed that the proportion of a double square, or

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[631]Jones, *On the True and the False,* p. 23.
[632]*Ibid.*
[633]*Ibid.*
[634]Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice,* pp. 114-115.
[635]*Ibid.*
[636]Jones, *On the True and the False,* p. 24.

4 to 8, would be less attractive than the more subtle ratio of 5 to 8.[637] He, again, cited Vitruvius, quoting the Roman architect as saying:

> If Nature has made the human body so that the different members of it are measures of the whole, so that the ancients have with great propriety determined that in all perfect works each part should be some aliquot part of the whole,--Proportion is that agreeable harmony between the several parts of a building which is the result of a just and regular agreement of them with each other,--the height to the width, this to the length, and each of these to the whole."[638]

Jones also cited Penrose's research as evidence that the Greeks too "carried out this principle to the minutest detail of their buildings."[639]

The remarks of Sir Charles Eastlake were also quoted, as follows: "Those arts are generally considered the most worthy in which the mental labour employed and the mental pleasure produced are greatest, and in which the manual labour, or labour of whatsoever kind, is least apparent."[640] Jones believed that Eastlake's observations were applicable to proportion and to all other arrangements concerning form. Consequently, Jones observed that "all compositions of squares or of circles will be monotonous, and afford but little pleasure, because the means whereby they are produced is very apparent," and that in "a composition which is distributed in equal lines or divisions, the proportions of which the eye would too readily detect, are, we think, less beautiful than those which require a higher mental labour to appreciate."[641]

At this point, Jones interjected the analogy of form and sound, which he noted had been pursued by many writers, including Field. He said these writers had concluded that no proportions were beautiful without an equivalence in music and while Jones agreed that all musical proportions would be beautiful, he felt the

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[637] *Ibid.*
[638] *Ibid.*
[639] *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.
[640] *Ibid.*
[641] *Ibid.*

infinite number of musical proportions made it difficult to rely upon them to develop rules for practice. Instead, he suggested that the designer rely upon taste and judgment to determine the proportion to be used in each composition. This accomplished, he directed the designer to make sure that the "proportions bear an exact relation to each other; *i.e.* that the whole and the different members should be multiples of a simple unit."[642] In this way, the designer would mirror the musician who composes a melody by inspiration, and then corrects the counterpoint, or a poet who drafts a poem, and then corrects the metre and grammatical construction; likewise, the designer should arrange the forms by eye, and then use proportion to refine the arrangement.[643] He continued, saying:

> ...it can scarcely be doubted that the eye, as the ear, can only take pleasure in those ratios which are mathematically true. There is only one point on the string of a violin where the particular note required can be produced. A little above, or a little below, we have an imperfect note, which the ear readily detects. It is hardly too much to assert, that the eye also is equally sensible with regard to form; and if the proportion of 5 to 8 be harmonious, 5 to 7 3/4, or 5 to 8 1/4, would not be so, and would equally affect the eye disagreeably, as is the ear affected in the case of sound, by a note too sharp or too flat.[644]

Principle Eight continued the discussion of harmony in form, stating: "Harmony of form consists in the proper balancing, and contrast of, the straight, the angular, and the curved."[645] Field identified "three primary figures, the right line, the angle, and the curve"[646] and stipulated that there could "be no perfect harmony in the composition of figures in which either of the three genera is [was] wanting."[647] Field also said that "the varieties of harmony in composition and design depend upon the various predominance and subordination of the three."[648] Jones

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[642]*Ibid.*, p. 26.
[643]*Ibid.*
[644]*Ibid.*
[645]*Ibid.*, p. 27.
[646]*Ibid.*
[647]*Ibid.*
[648]*Ibid.*

emphasized that this proposition applied to Architecture and the Decorative Arts equally and was best exemplified in Greek and Gothic architecture where the straight, angular, and curved were in the most perfect relation to each other.[649] He referenced two Gothic practices which achieved harmony and balance: the first was in capping the buttress to counteract the upward tendency of the straight lines and the second, in the placement of a gable over an aperture to offset the curved window-head with its' perpendicular mullions.[650]

He introduced a series of illustrations to demonstrate this principle [Figure 98], arguing that "in surface decoration any arrangement of forms consisting only of straight lines is monotonous, and affords but imperfect pleasure; but introduce lines which give the eye a tendency toward the angles, and you have at once an additional pleasure.""[651] If circular lines are added, complete harmony is produced; in the example, "the square is the leading form or tonic, and the angular and curved are subordinate."[652] His second example (images D, E, and F) shows the same result achieved in a diaper pattern composed of equilateral triangles; in this example, the vertical and horizontal lines divert the eye from exclusively following the angles, and the addition of circles produces repose, since the eye no longer has any want. Jones concluded that the neglect of this principle was responsible for many of the faults detectable in contemporary products.[653]

The illustrations used here were also cited by Gombrich as another example of the way Jones employed the psychology of perception to analyze form and ornament.[654] Gombrich said that, in this instance, Jones anticipated "an idea which Birkhoff was to elaborate in his book on *Aesthetic Measure.*"[655] This idea is "that

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[649]*Ibid.*
[650]*Ibid.*, p. 27-28.
[651]*Ibid.*, p. 28.
[652]*Ibid.*
[653]*Ibid.*, p. 29.
[654]Gombrich, pp. 53-54.
[655]*Ibid.*, p. 54.

pleasure in perception derives from the right mean between monotony on the one side and confusion on the other."[656]

To demonstrate Principle Nine, Jones referred to designs produced in the Orient, in Greece, and by the Arabs. From his observations of their patterns, he developed the principle: "In surface decoration all lines should flow out of a parent stem. Every ornament, however distant, should be traced to its branch and root" [Figure 99].[657] He cited examples of distribution and radiation to explain this principle. In the first instance, the artist produced a pattern analogous to the distribution of sap through a vine-leaf, using a dominant line which mirrored the concept of a main artery delivering sap to a leaf and then distributing it within the leaf through lesser veins. In the second instance, the artist used the concept of radiation similar to the distribution of fingers on a human hand or the veins in a chestnut leaf.[658] He also noted that in Greek ornament, the example of cactus-type plants was followed with one leaf growing out from another as in the continuous line of acanthus scrolls; while, in contrast, Arabian ornaments grew out of a continuous stem. He found that exceptions to this rule, as in Elizabethan architecture, produced haphazard and, therefore, base designs.

Jones called Proposition Ten "the melody of form,"[659] insisting: "All junctions of curved lines with curved, or of curved with straight should be tangential to each other."[660] Jones derived this principle from his observations of Nature and Oriental ornament and discovered that as in the perception of proportion, compositions of curves were most agreeable when the technique of producing them was least apparent. As a result, "in all the best periods of Art, all mouldings and ornaments were founded on curves of the higher order, such as the conic sections, whilst, when

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[656]*Ibid.*
[657]Jones, *On the True and False*, p. 30.
[658]*Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.
[659]Gombrich, p. 54.
[660]Jones, *On the True and False*, p. 34.

Art declined, circles and compass-work were much more dominant."[661] E. H. Gombrich points to the fact that Jones and William Hogarth based their theories on the assumption that the eyes followed continuous tracking movements along lines drawn by artists. This assumption has been disproved by the camera's ability to photograph eye movements, but the physical evidence has not dispelled the subjective feeling that eyes follow continuous lines and that some lines are more pleasing than others.[662]

In discussing Principle Ten, Jones also referred to Penrose's research on Greek architecture and quoted his findings. Penrose reported "that the mouldings and all curved lines on the Parthenon are all portions of curves of a very high order, and that segments of circles were very rarely employed. Jones also included an illustration [Figure 100] of "a curve common to Greek art, the Gothic period, and so much delighted in by the Mahommedan races."[663] He pointed out that this curve became more graceful as it diverged from the curve formed by the union of two circles.[664]

Principle Eleven was developed to counteract the direct imitation of Nature so pervasive in Victorian decoration [Figure 101]. In stating this principle, Jones explained that: "Flowers or other natural objects should not be used as ornament, but conventional representations founded upon them sufficiently suggestive to convey the intended image to the mind, without destroying the unity of the object they are employed to decorate."[665] Jones observed that "In every period of faith in Art, all ornamentation was ennobled by the ideal; never by a faithful representation

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[661]*Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.
[662]Gombrich, pp. 122, 191.
[663]Jones, *On the True and False*, p. 35.
[664]*Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.
[665]*Ibid.*

of Nature."[666] Ruskin, on the other hand, believed that man could not "advance in the invention of beauty, without directly imitating natural form" [Figure 102].[667]

Jones followed these eleven principles concerning form and ornament with twenty principles dealing with color. These principles were printed in the catalogue for the Museum of Ornamental Art and articulated in a paper read before the Society of Arts on April 28, 1852. In that lecture, Jones explained that the axioms he applied to color had been derived from a study of Nature, science, and architecture. Beginning with Nature, he observed that: "Colour is used to assist in the developement of form, and to distinguish objects or parts of objects from one another" [Proposition Twelve in the Catalogue and I. in the lecture]. He explained that "had nature applied but one colour to all objects, they would have been indistinct; but, by an ever-changing variety, each has its proper tone and hue, from the modest lily of the field to the parent of all colour, the glorious sun in the heavens."[668] He observed that "the ancients ever obeyed this law; thus, the capitals of their columns are separated by colour from the shafts, and these, again, by colour from their bases or pedestals."[669]

Again, Ruskin developed a position in direct opposition to Jones. Ruskin cited the fact that the stripes of a zebra and the spots of a leopard did not relate to the divisions of their anatomies as proof that color did not follow form in Nature. He told his readers to "notice how Nature does it [uses color] in a variegated flower; not

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[666]*Ibid.*

[667]Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice,* pp. 100-111. Brooks says that "Any reader of the Victorian architectural press would have been aware of this contrast between Ruskin's views [on naturalism] and Jones's" [p. 91] and says that even "as late as 1889 we find J. L. Roget telling readers of the *Architect* that 'Mr. Ruskin would obey the presumed injunction of nature by copying the most frequent of her forms,' while 'Mr. Owen Jones would follow her dictates by imitating the the most common qualities of her forms.," Brooks, p. 93.

[668]Jones, *An Attempt to Define the Principles which Should Regulate the Employmnet of Colour in the Decorative Arts,* Read before the Society of Arts, April 28, 1852, p. 263. Hereafter: *Colour in the Decorative Arts,* with page.

[669]*Ibid.*

one leaf red and another white, but a point of red and a zone of white."[670] In architecture, Ruskin endorsed the technique of constructional polychromy which incorporated a variety of materials in a range of colors to achieve patterned and textured surfaces. Although structural elements were sometimes emphasized, the purpose of constructional polychromy, to Ruskin, was not the unity of form and color, but the creation of varied ornamentation in a permanent form.

Jones's next principle is also derived from Nature. Proposition Thirteen states that: "Colour is used to assist light and shade, helping the undulations of form by the proper distribution of the several colours" [Proposition Thirteen in the Catalogue and II. in the lecture]. He maintains that without light and shade, distinctive forms of objects are unrecognizable, that a globe without light and shade is simply a circle: "the light on the exposed surface and the shade on the retiring surface alone convince us of its rotundity."[671]

He believed his next proposition to be more controversial: "These objects are best attained by the use of the primary colours on small surfaces and in small quantities, balanced and supported by the secondary and tertiary colours on the larger masses" [Proposition Fourteen in the Catalogue and III. in the lecture]. He had observed this practice in describing the coloration in the Alhambra, but expands the discussion at this point by insisting on a point that looks forward to Loos:[672] "There are many who will object that the primary colours are the delight only of the savage and uncultivated, but I answer that the primary colours are never vulgar or discordant when properly applied; the defect will lie not with the colours, but with the want of skill of the hand that applies them."[673] He paraphrased the points made in his earlier history of religion and architecture lecture, saying that in the best

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[670]Brooks, p. 85.
[671]*Colour in the Decorative Arts,* p. 263.
[672]I am grateful to Robert Craig for making this connection.
[673]*Colour in the Decorative Arts,* p. 264.

periods of the art of the Egyptians, Greeks, Arabs and Moors, this law of color was followed: but, when the art of each of these civilisations declined, the primaries were no longer the ruling harmonies; "the secondaries and tertiaries, from being subordinate, became dominant, and muddiness and indistinctness resulted."[674] He concluded that "each civilization in the ascendant goes to nature for its principles, and enriches its own inventions with the choicest conceptions of antecedent ages; while...declining civilisations substitute only a series of decrepit, disordered, and faithless caprices."[675]

The fourth proposition in the lecture [Number Fifteen in the Catalogue] states: "The primary colours should be used on the upper portions of objects, the secondary and tertiary on the lower."[676] Jones, who had noted the way the Moors followed this application of color in *The Alhambra*, reaffirmed his belief that the Arabs followed this precept universally, but noted that other cultures also followed this rule. He addressed one exception: the use of green in the upper portion of Egyptian temples, explaining that this practice derived from the symbolism of Egyptian ornament, where the green was meant to represent the lotus leaf. With that exception, "the general aspect of an Egyptian building gives us the primaries above and the secondaries below."[677]

Jones explained how he applied the first four of his propositions concerning color in the scheme for the interior of the Crystal Palace. He obeyed Proposition I [Principle Twelve] "to bring out the construction of the building that it should appear higher, longer, and more solid."[678] He obeyed Proposition II [Principle Thirteen]: "So to colour each particular part that its light and shade should be assisted, and its

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[674]*Ibid.*
[675]*Ibid.*, pp. 265-266.
[676]*Ibid.*, p. 266.
[677]*Ibid.*
[678]*Ibid.*, p. 267. This form of constructional polychromy opposes Ruskin's.

peculiar form made most manifest."[679] Propositions III and IV [Principles Fourteen and Fifteen] were followed so that the primary colors would harmonize with the contents of the building, exhibiting every imaginable hue, and completing the overall color scheme. He said, "The effect which I had sought of the colouring of the building forming a neutralised bloom over the whole of the contents was attained to such an extent, that those who only saw it when completed looked in vain for that vulgar and discordant colouring, of which they had heard so much during the progress of the works."[680]

He continued his explanation, saying: "The blending of the three primary colours in the roof of the nave, where the effect could be seen uninterruptedly, was most complete, and produced an artificial atmospheric effect of a most surprising kind."[681] He explained that this effect was destroyed with the removal of the canvass from the roof at the close of the Great Exhibition, and remarked that while some people preferred the later effect since it produced more of an airy "Crystal Palace," the altered structure was "no longer an art problem resolved. By reason of the glare from the glass the red and yellow have disappeared, and we see simply a repetition of blue girders with sky between."[682] As a result, the effect of aerial perspective disappeared; the girders at the extremities of the building appeared to "fall so rapidly one on the other, that they present but a mass of blue. The nave, judged of now from the perspective of the roof, appears two or three hundred feet shorter than it did; because the eye has lost the power of measuring beyond a certain distance."[683]

Jones turned to the scientific studies of George Field and Monsieur Chevreul for the next propositions numbered Sixteen through Thirty-One in the *Catalogue*

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[679] *Ibid.*
[680] *Ibid.*, p. 268.
[681] *Ibid.*
[682] *Ibid.*
[683] *Ibid.*

and V through XXII in the lecture to the Society of Arts. Proposition Sixteen asserts:

> The primaries of equal intensities will harmonise or neutralise each other, in the proportions of 3 yellow, 5 red, and 8 blue,--integrally as 16.
> The secondaries in the proportions of 8 orange, 13 purple, 11 green,--integrally as 32.
> The tertiaries, citrine (compound of orange and green), 19; russet (orange and purple), 21; olive (green and purple), 24;--integrally as 64.
> It follows that,--
> Each secondary being a compound of two primaries is neutralised by the remaining primary in the same proportions,--thus, 8 of orange by 8 of blue, 11 of green by 5 of red, 13 of purple by 3 of yellow.
> Each tertiary being a binary compound of two secondaries, is neutralised by the remaining secondary--as 24 of olive by 8 of orange, 21 of russet by 11 of green, 19 of citrine by 13 of purple.[684]

In Proposition Seventeen, Jones continues: "The above supposed the colours to be used in their prismatic intensitites, but each colour has a variety of *tones* when mixed with white, or of *shades* when mixed with grey or black."[685] Proposition Eighteen is related, stating:

> Each colour has a variety of *hues*, obtained by admixture with other colours, in addition to white, grey, or black: thus we have of yellow, orange-yellow on the one side, and lemon-yellow on the other; so of red,--scarlet-red, and crimson-red; and of each every variety of *tone* and *shade*.
> When a primary tinged with another primary is contrasted with a secondary, the secondary must have a hue of the third primary.[686]

Jones said that "The truth of these two last propositions is so self-evident that they would hardly require discussion...were we not reminded by all we see around us now how much they are every day disregarded."[687] He said that it was "evident that, for the proper balancing of such infinite varieties of tones, shades, and hues, no mechanical means can be found of estimating the value of the colours, or the relative

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[684] *Ibid.*, p. 269.
[685] *Ibid.*, p. 270.
[686] *Ibid.*
[687] *Ibid.*

areas they should occupy" but that "it is by study and cultivation alone that any approach to perfection can be reached, and he who can carry in his mind the proportions which science thus teaches us, will be in a far better condition to arrive at success than he who trusts to his unaided instincts and natural gifts."[688] He pointed to the East Indian collection of textile fabrics at the Great Exhibition as an example of the perfect application and balance of color [Figure 103]. He said that in the Eastern textiles "contrasting colours appeared to have just the tone and shade required; the contrivances by which they corrected the power of any one colour in excess most ingenious"[689] and advocated the study of their color for every student as well as for everyone in possession of a cultivated mind. At this point, he quoted the words of Field: "He who can regard Nature with the intelligent eye of the colourist, has a boundless source of never-ceasing gratification, arising from harmonies and accordances, which are lost to the untutored eye."[690]

Jones noted the fact that the Eastern artists were fortunate in working in the style which had grown up with their religion and which was intrinsic to every thought and action in their daily life. In contrast, he repeated his earlier condemnation of the Reformation as the event which separated "the tie which should exist between Religion and Art" for contemporary Christians.[691] He blamed the absence of unity in feeling for the want of unity in expression, saying that "there is the same disorder in the art, as scepticism in the mind. This acting generation on generation, each descends lower and lower."[692]

In a surprisingly emotional turn, he declared that:

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[688] *Ibid.*, p. 271. Opposite of Ruskin, See page 65.
[689] *Ibid.*
[690] *Ibid.*
[691] *Ibid.*, p. 272.
[692] *Ibid.*, p. 271-2.

> Children born in an age of ugliness cannot hope to have their instincts quickened for the beautiful; but, on the contrary, the natural instinct will be extinguished, and will no longer be born with them. I can conceive a paternal and wise government visiting with punishment all those who produce abortions in art, as justly as those who lower the tone of the morals of the society; in either case they rob the rising generation of their birthright.[693]

He continued: "If it be true, as Field says, 'that whatever refines the taste, improves the morals, enhances the powers, and promotes the happiness of the people,' the converse is true also. That which corrupts their taste, debases their morals, destroys their powers, and promotes their misery."[694]

Proposition Nineteen in the *Catalogue* [Proposition VIII. in the lecture] stated:

> In using the primary colours on moulded surfaces, we should place blue, which retires, on the concave surfaces; yellow, which advances, on the convex; and red, the intermediated colour, on the undersides; separating the colours by white on the vertical planes.
>
> When the proportions required by proposition 16 cannot be obtained, we may procure the balance by a change in the colours themselves; thus, if the surfaces to be coloured should give too much yellow, we should make the red more crimson and the blue more purple--*i.e.* we should take the yellow out of them; so if the surfaces give too much blue, we should make the yellow more orange and the red more scarlet.[695]

In his lecture to the Society of Art, Jones used colored diagrams [Figure 104] to demonstrate this principle, labelling each surface with the color he recommended. He explained the first diagram, saying that yellow is applied to the moulding at A in order to cause the surface to advance in form and position and, in contrast, blue, the retiring color, is applied at C to assist in the impression of concavity. He continued, saying that "Red, the most positive of all colours, looks best in shadow; we therefore place it at B; the fillets, or vertical planes at D, we make white, as useful in separating the colours from harsh contrast."[696] He noted that while the positions of

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[693] *Ibid.*, p. 272.
[694] *Ibid.*
[695] *Ibid.*, p. 272-3.
[696] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

the colours, yellow and blue, were "subject to modifications, according to circumstances,"[697] he always found this law most useful when applied to red. He maintained that "red never looks well when seen in a strong light; it is too positive, and painful to the eye: on the contrary, in soffites, in hollows or depths of any kind, it looks most brilliant"[698] and recalled that "in the Great Exhibition, you may remember the alarm which was caused by my painting the undersides of the girders red; but I think you will see by this diagram [Figure 105] that they could have been of no other colour."[699]

Proposition Twenty [Proposition IX in the lecture] repeats Jones's observation from the Alhambra that "the various colours should be so blended that the objects coloured, when viewed at a distance, should present a neutralised bloom."[700] With this proposition, Jones went beyond the proportional use of color specified in Propositions Sixteen, Seventeen, and Eighteen [V., VI., VII.] to stipulate that colors "should be so interwoven that no one colour should attract the eye to the exclusion of the others; when viewed at a distance they should melt into one another."[701] Jones cited an example of an Oriental practice in pattern-making used to achieve a balance of color. He explained that often when Oriental designers have a massive gold ornament on a coloured ground, they "allow the ground colour to reappear on the gold ornament, as another ornament: so that not only the volume of gold, when in excess, is thereby lessened, but the ground colour is carried into it, so that a perfect balance is obtained."[702]

In Proposition Twenty-one, Jones states that "No composition can ever be perfect in which any one of the three primary colours is wanting, either in its

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[697] *Ibid.*
[698] *Ibid.*, p. 274.
[699] *Ibid.*
[700] *Ibid.*
[701] *Ibid.*
[702] *Ibid.*, p. 274-5.

natural state or in combination."[703] He explains that a combination of blue and yellow, red and yellow, or red and blue would be discords; a combination of green and yellow, purple and blue, or orange and red would also be discords. He points out that "these discords may be resolved by the interpositions of the neutrals white or black, which contain all colours in the positive and negative state."[704] They can also be "harmonised by the interposition of metallic gold."[705]

Jones derives the next four propositions from the "law of simultaneous contrast of colours" identified by "Mons. Chevreul, who, by a series of experiments carried on for a number of years, established the fact that colours juxtaposed influence each other in a most remarkable degree."[706] Chevreul declared that there were two types of contrast: "the one, contrast of tone, or the modification which each colour suffers in intensity; the other, contrast of colour, or the modification which each colour suffers in hue."[707]

These contrasts occur because each pigment reflects the colored rays appropriate for its color, plus white rays and some rays of its complement; in other words, a red body, reflects a large quantity of red rays, but also reflects white rays and some green rays. As a result, each color is modified by the presence of another color. The first proposition developed from the results of Chevreul's studies is Proposition Twenty-two: "When two tones of the same colour are juxtaposed, the light colour will appear lighter, and the dark colour darker."[708] This is Chevreul's "contrast of tone," easily demonstrated [Figure 106] by taking two sheets of colored paper, one light and one dark and dividing them in half and pasting them in the following manner on a white screen: one-half of the light colored sheet (called A)

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[703]*Ibid.*, p. 275.
[704]*Ibid.*
[705]*Ibid.*
[706]*Ibid.*
[707]*Ibid.*
[708]*Ibid.*, p. 276.

placed alone on the left, the other half of A placed in the center abutting one-half of the darker sheet (called B), and the second half of B placed alone to the right. Once the sheets are in place in this arrangement, it becomes obvious that the half of A to the far left appears darker than the half adjacent to B. The reason for this is that the light color reflects more white rays than the darker one; when the two are placed together, A appears lighter and B appears darker than when these colors are presented independently. Jones also points out that the effect is strongest at the edge where the two colors meet and diminishes at the extremes.

The next proposition, Principle Twenty-three, also builds on this concept of contrast, stating: "When two different colours are juxtaposed they receive a double modification,--first, as to their tone (the light colour appearing lighter and the dark colour appearing darker); secondly, as to their hue, each will become tinged with the complementary colour of the other."[709] This time, the experiment is conducted by taking two half sheets of pale red, and two half sheets of dark blue, pasted in the same configuration on a white background; the result is that the pale red appears paler, and at the same time becomes tinged with orange, while the dark blue appears darker and tinged slightly with green.

The effect of backgrounds is discussed in the next two propositions. In Principle Twenty-four, Jones says, "Colours on white grounds appear darker; on black grounds, lighter."[710] He explains this phenomena, as follows: "The white by its superior force extinguishes the white rays reflected by the colour, and we see the colour purer--as black reflects but few white rays, the white rays reflected by the colour appear more prominent by contrast and the colour appears lighter."[711]

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[709] *Ibid.*, p. 277.
[710] *Ibid.*
[711] *Ibid.*

In Principle Twenty-five, he notes that "black grounds suffer when opposed to colours which give a luminous complementary."[712] Jones explains this condition, observing that "as light colours have dark complementaries, the dark added to the black increase its brilliancy; those, on the contrary, which have light complementaries, must diminish its intensity."[713] This proposition can be demonstrated by observing that orange on a black ground adds blue to the black, making it more intense; but blue on a black ground adds orange to the black, destroying its brilliancy.

Jones stresses the importance of this law "to anyone engaged in any way with the employment of colour, as any colour can be subdued or heightened in effect by juxtaposition."[714] With this understanding established, he declared that "colours are mere relative terms; they change at every instant: that which appears deep red when compared with an orange red, becomes orange red when compared with a still deeper red."[715] At this point, he introduced an illustration [Figure 107] to prove the fact that the primaries and all other colors exist only in the mind. He described the diagram as follows:

> We have at the points A, B, C, D, blue, yellow, red, blue; on the lines E, F, G, green, orange, purple.
>
> It is evident, that at the least departure from the point C on the left, red would be tinged with orange, and at the least departure on the right would become tinged with purple. So, at the least departure from line F on the left, the orange would have an excess of yellow, and on the least departure on the right an excess of red, so that we can no more see red or orange than we can see a point or a line; and even if we could see them it could only be for an instant, as the complementary rays reflected from them would gradually lower their tone: so of all the other colours.[716]

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[712] *Ibid.*
[713] *Ibid.*, p. 277-278.
[714] *Ibid.*, p. 278.
[715] *Ibid.*
[716] *Ibid.*

At this point, Jones introduced several propositions outlining ways to increase the harmonious effects of juxtaposed color based upon his studies of Oriental works, and which he believed could be "seen in great perfection on the textile fabrics of the Indian collection purchased by the Government."[717] Principle Twenty-Six announced that "when ornaments in a colour are on a ground of contrasting colour, the ornament should be separated from the ground by an edging of lighter colour,--as a red flower on a green ground should have an edging of lighter red."[718] This principle was based upon the law of contrast, where the eye confronted with two contrasts, each suggesting the complementary color of the other, perceived the colors fusing together at the edges, creating an indistinctness. "To confine the eye, therefore, within the ornament, it is necessary to define the form, and this is well effected by the outline of the lighter colour."[719]

In Proposition Twenty-seven, Jones observed that "when ornaments in a colour are on a gold ground, the ornaments should be separated from the ground by an edging of a darker colour."[720] He explained the need for this action saying: "the gold ground from its greater power, has a tendency to invade or overflow on to the coloured ornament, and this is at once arrested by the darker edging."[721] Similarly, in Proposition Twenty-Eight, he noted "gold ornaments on any coloured ground should be outlined with black."[722] The reasoning for this proposition is the same as in Number 27: "the tendency of the gold to overrun the ground, which is arrested by the black line; and as gold must be regarded as a neutral, it is best effected by the neutral black."[723]

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[717]*Ibid.*, p. 279.
[718]*Ibid.*
[719]*Ibid.*
[720]*Ibid.*, pp. 278-9.
[721]*Ibid., p.* 280.
[722]*Ibid.*
[723]*Ibid.*

Proposition Twenty-Nine asserts that "ornaments in any colour, or in gold, may be used on white or black grounds, without outline or edging."[724] In this case, "The white ground reflecting all the rays, destroys by its superior intensity the white rays reflected by the coloured body, and its form becomes perfectly defined. The black ground absorbs all the rays, or reflects but very feebly white rays, so as scarcely to modify the colour juxtaposed."[725]

In Proposition Thirty, Jones observes that "ornaments of any colour may be separated from grounds of any other colour by edgings of white, gold, or black."[726] The reason for this proposition is that white, gold, and black are neutrals and they prevent the effects of simultaneous contrast from occurring, preserving the integrity of the colors outlined.

Proposition Thirty-One states that "in 'self-tints,' tones or shades of the same colour, or of the same hue, a light tint on a dark ground may be used without outline; but a dark ornament on a light ground requires to be outlined with still a darker tint."[727] This proposition resulted from studies indicating that the light tint advanced, separating itself from the ground, but the dark tint appeared to "pierce through" the ground if not arrested by a darker edging. Jones also addressed ornaments in relief, determining that they did not require the interposition of white or any other color to define them since the light edging on one side, and the shadow on the other, prevented contrast. He also maintained that metallic gold could be used on grounds of any other color without contrast occurring.[728]

These thirty-one axioms were considered so important to the English Reform Movement that they were printed in a separate pamphlet and given to all of the students in the Government Schools of Design for study. Jones's articulation of

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[724] *Ibid.*
[725] *Ibid.*, p. 281.
[726] *Ibid.*
[727] *Ibid.*
[728] *Ibid.*

principles of color drew attention to the subject. Other architects gave lectures on color and the professional press printed articles and letters summarizing their paraphrases of Jones's ideas or their differing opinions. The voice raised loudest in opposition belonged, not surprisingly, to John Ruskin.

Ruskin delivered a lecture on December 9, 1854, in an attempt to refute Jones's principles. He titled his talk "The General Principles of Colour," positioning himself as an authority capable of asserting his own principles. He said he

> was most anxious, in any remarks which he had made, that he should not be understood as depreciating the value of any of those ably illustrated works of Mr. Owen Jones and others who had studied the subject of the law of colour---a subject, in the abstract, of great interest. All he meant to convey was, that these rules would never teach anyone to colour; and the artist who submitted himself to the law of these three primaries was lost for ever.[729]

This total rejection of Jones's philosophy was emphasized further when Ruskin said that "neither he himself nor anybody else could tell anything which would be of the least value, beyond what every person present could find out for himself by the exercise of that noble faculty...'instinct.'"[730] (See discussion of Jones's Proposition Eighteen, pages 199-200, for the opposite of this position).

Ruskin proceeded to define instinct as "that peculiar faculty by which all creatures did particularly that which it was their function to do, as the bee built its combs."[731] He developed his argument, and attack on Jones, by explaining that philosophers had studied the hexagonal construction of the bee's honeycombs and "had discovered certain rules, which they had expressed in mathematical and logical formulae. But...the bee...was perfectly ignorant of the laws of numerical series, by which the principles upon which he acted could be explained and illustrated by the

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[729]John Ruskin, *The Works of John Ruskin,* ed. by E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, London, George Allen, and New York, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1903, Vol. 8, p. 502.
[730]*Ibid.*, p. 499.
[731]*Ibid.*

philosopher."[732] Ruskin continued, "The bee did not know, and did not want to know these rules: he built his cells by a higher and a nobler teaching."[733]

Ruskin maintained that mankind exhibited similar instinctual behavior in acts of courage, truthfulness, and compassion. Then, in complete opposition to Jones, he said the case for instinct was especially strong in the arts, where "everything to be well done must be done by instinct."[734] He then delivered an indirect assault on Jones's theory by saying, "If we went to any noble colourist, to any man of real talent, and asked him why he did such or such a thing, his answer would be, and 'I don't know: I do it because it appears to me to look well.'"[735] To add substance to his argument, Ruskin said that he had recently been sitting next to "one of the greatest living colourists, Mr. Hunt [William Hunt, of the Old Water-Colour Society]; and, in reply to a question put to him as to why he put on a certain colour (which appeared to be against all rules) [Ruskin's parenthesis], he said 'he did not know; *he was just aiming at it.*'"[736] Ruskin also said that "he had had frequent opportunities of conversing with Turner, but had never heard him utter a single rule of colour, though he had frequently heard him, like all great men, talk of 'trying' to do a thing."[737] Ruskin said, "This was ever the language of great genius"; but "a man of no talent, a bad colourist, would be ready to give you mathematical reasons for every colour he put on the canvas."[738]

As if these obvious criticisms of Jones were not enough, Ruskin introduced more examples to prove his argument. He said, "Mulready was another great colourist, and he had once asked him whether he had any principles or rules of colour. The reply...was "know what you have to do, and do it; but he could not tell by

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[732] *Ibid.*
[733] *Ibid.*
[734] *Ibid.*, p. 500.
[735] *Ibid.*
[736] *Ibid.*
[737] *Ibid.*
[738] *Ibid.*

what rules he was to know what to do to a certain thing."[739] Next, Ruskin introduced highly improbable examples from poetry and music, maintaining that "the master poets, who wrote the best verses, could not tell their way of doing it."[740] He used Tennyson as an example.[741] Ruskin said he believed Tennyson to be "the leading master of versification" in the present day; yet, Tennyson had no rules to guide him. Ruskin said an intimate friend of Tennyson's studied the poet's verses and developed "an immense number of laws and examples"; but when he showed them to the poet, exclaiming "what wonderful laws you observe," Tennyson replied: "It's all true...I do observe them, but I never knew it."[742]

For the case of music, Ruskin chose Haydn, describing him as: "one of the greatest geniuses, as well as an ardent lover of true harmony" and reported that "an admirable French work, containing the lives of Haydn and other composers, gave a striking instance of the perfect independence of mind and freedom from fetters of rule which characterised this fine composer."[743] Ruskin did not name his source or the authorship (Stendhal), but assumed that his audience would respect his citation of "an admirable French work" as appropriate testimony.[744] He continued describing Haydn as "checked in his youth by his masters, this rare person had yet 'taken science out of his own heart; he had found it there, and remarked the feelings which passed within his own breast, and he acted upon its suggestions and native promptings.'"[745]

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[739]*Ibid.*
[740]*Ibid.*
[741]Tennyson obviously didn't take Ruskin seriously since he later commissioned Jones to prepare the designs for a book of Tennyson's poetry written for Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales. The result was the sumptuous *A Welcome to Alexandra*, 1863.
[742]Ruskin, *Works,* p. 500.
[743]*Ibid.*
[744]I am grateful to Ronald B. Lewcock for identifying the source. Also, it is interesting to contrast Jones's careful attributions and scholarship with Ruskin's unsubstantiated references.
[745]Ruskin, *Works,* p. 500.

Continuing his attack on the principles proposed by Jones, Ruskin told his listeners that he "was anxious to get his hearers entirely quit of the notion that they could do nothing without 'rule.'"[746] And in an obvious reference to Jones said:

> We were told, as a rule, that there were three primary colours--red, blue, and yellow--and that these primaries should occur in every composition; that these three colours always existed in a ray of light in the proportions of eight, five, and three, and that in these proportions they neutralised each other, and produced white light. Then said the scientific gentleman, 'Because these colours occur in a ray of light, you should always put them into your compositions in just such a manner as that each colour may be neutralised by its neighbor.' How absurd was all this! Were there not also acids and alkalines in chemistry which neutralised each other? and would it not be equally reasonable for a man to say to his cook, 'Whenever you squeeze a lemon on my veal, put a pinch of magnesia with it, in order that the alkali may neutralise the acid'?[747]

At this point in the lecture, Ruskin produced an orange and pronounced it "as fine a yellow as you can have." Holding the orange, he said:

> If the scientific man were asked what colours should be introduced with it in a composition, he would reply, 'Well, eight of red, and five of blue.' But what said Nature? She gave neither red nor blue, but, placing the orange in the midst of bright green leaves, enabled you to look on one of the most beautiful objects in existence--an orange grove.[748]

Ruskin continued the argument using the "sky-blue flowers of the gentian" as another example, exclaiming: "Did Nature give that eight of blue, five of red, and a touch of yellow? No such thing. There were the green grass, the white lilies of the valley, and the grey rock, but not a touch of red or yellow; yet that flower always looks beautiful."[749] He also said, "Some fine specimens of water-colour drawings by Turner and others were exhibited, for the purpose of showing that beautiful effects might be obtained without adherence to these arbitrary rules, and could often only

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[746]*Ibid.*, p. 501.
[747]*Ibid.*
[748]*Ibid.*
[749]*Ibid.*

be obtained by defiance of them." His conclusion, therefore, based on "these examples, as well as from a careful study of the finest works of the old masters, was that a close observance of these laws would most assuredly lead the scholar in a wrong direction."[750]

He went on to say that "not only were these laws calculated to lead people wrong, but they would make those who followed them moderately conceited."[751] He said he was alluding to a recent conversation with "the man who, of all others, had, perhaps, been the most successful in pursuing these laws of colour"[752] and, that "in the course of the conversation, the lawgiver said, 'Well, I find, upon the whole, that there is no harmony except between red and green.'" Ruskin said he remarked that Titian and others had used red and blue, but "the philosopher" responded that "Titian is all wrong."[753] Ruskin continued, saying that when he queried the gentleman to see if there was any picture in the Academy which came up to his views of harmony in color, the gentleman answered that he had only found one picture painted in accordance with scientific principles. Ruskin declined to name the picture referred to, but described it as "one of the chief daubs in the collection."[754]

This discussion lead Ruskin to reject the role of science and reiterate his main point that "the most efficient mode by which a knowledge of colour could be obtained by the artist was by casting all rules behind his back, and trusting to his own

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[750]*Ibid.*

[751]*Ibid.*

[752]In *The Works of John Ruskin,* the editors comment that this man was "No doubt, Sir David Brewster, F. R. S. (1781-1868)." Brewster experimented with the absorption and polarization of light and his studies significantly advanced the study of optics. The laws or principles which Ruskin is referring to regarding the use of color in architecture and the decorative arts, however, were proposed by Jones, based upon the architect's acknowledged studies of Field, Chevreul, and his own observations of Oriental ornament. It seems plausible, therefore, that Jones is the gentleman referred to in this context. The Brewster reference in *The Works of John Ruskin* appears on p. 501 of the 1903 Library Edition cited earlier. Another indication that the reference is to Jones occurs on p. 220 of this text.

[753]Ruskin, *Works,* p. 502.

[754]*Ibid.*

instincts when in a calm and healthy state."[755] He advised the artist, and his audience, to "Watch for everything," to "look carefully for everything in nature which is beautiful" and that "Whenever any combination of colours or a colour particularly beautiful was found," to "note it carefully."[756] He maintained that if that kind of work was enjoyed and continued, "the student would soon begin to invent, and having put down two or three colours, others would soon suggest themselves as necessary."[757] He continued with the advice: "Pass not a single thing, however small or despised," saying that "no colour was so contemptible but that it might furnish some hint, and there was no hour in the day when something might not be learned."[758] To the contrary, he asserted that "fettered by rules, all these opportunities of gaining knowledge would be lost to the student...and the artist who submitted himself to the law of the three primaries was lost for ever."[759]

At this point, Ruskin established his own "principles," calling them "necessities which should never be lost sight of by the student. They were the necessity of gradation, of subtlety, and of surprise" and he assured his listeners that these elements "were most sedulously and carefully acknowledged by the most successful of colourists, whether ancient or modern."[760] He proclaimed that "no colour was really valuable until it was gradated"[761] and insisted that "the great beauty of colour consisted in a sort of twilight melancholy--a dying away," stating that "no colour was, in fact, of use till it appeared to be dying."[762] He explained that colors were "gradated by passing into other colors, or by becoming paler or darker."[763] He said

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[755]*Ibid.*
[756]*Ibid.*
[757]*Ibid.*
[758]*Ibid.*
[759]*Ibid.*
[760]*Ibid.*
[761]*Ibid.*, p. 503.
[762]*Ibid.*, p. 502-503.
[763]*Ibid.*, p. 503.

examples of subtle gradations in color were shown in the flowers of the scarlet cactus, and in some of the beautiful water-colour drawings of Turner."[764]

His next point could hardly be disputed; for he said that the successful colourist always worked with excessive delicacy in laying on the hues, regardless of the size of the area to be colored, since "a grain more or a grain less would injure the whole."[765] As an example of this practice, he said Paul Veronese had executed a large picture, where "a small white hair upon the paw of a cat playing with a vase in the foreground was essential to the completeness of the picture."[766] This seems to be a debatable example, however, since the white hair would seem to be proof of the delicacy and level of minute detail exhibited by the artist, rather than a statement about color. Nevertheless, he maintained that "it was this extreme delicacy of all good colour, and the care which was taken in its application even to architectural decoration, that rendered fruitless and unsuccessful all attempts to restore or to represent the old decorations upon any architectural works of the past centuries."[767]

Ruskin reported that his third law, "the law of surprise...was one of the chief sources of pleasure,---just as in music, the change to one note when another was expected, formed the principal cause of the delight experienced in listening to the finest works of the composers."[768] He observed that "the law of surprise" was uniformly acted upon in the works of the old masters, and in a statement which could be considered contradictory to some of his earlier remarks on instinct, said that the painters appeared "to have set themselves certain laws, and then suddenly to have transgressed them in a most playful and effective manner."[769]

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[764] *Ibid.*
[765] *Ibid.*
[766] *Ibid.*
[767] *Ibid.*
[768] *Ibid.*
[769] *Ibid.*

"Passing from the laws affecting the management of colour, he proceeded to point out what colours ought to be used. The best lesson in colour to which he could point was a sunset. The clouds were *scarlet, golden, purple, white, grey,* but not *crimson,* except in stormy weather."[770] At this point he digressed into remarks on the beauty of crimson, "the earthy ashy, buff colour of earth" which he perceived to be the "ugliest of all colours," and purple, "a colour of great importance" to the ancients.[771] Then, "reverting to the strange manner in which in nature the purple gradated into scarlet, without touching the crimson, Mr. Ruskin urged upon the student of illumination the propriety of not using the sacred colour, crimson, the symbol of life, without extreme caution."[772]

The contrast between Ruskin's emotional and rhetorical approach to colour and Jones's scientifically-based logic is of paramount importance. Ruskin seemed to lose sight of, or ignore, the fact that the absence of rules and the reliance upon "instinct" had created the tasteless state of British design which the Government Schools of Design were established to address. Simply telling students to copy colors which they thought attractive, and that other appropriate colors would 'suggest themselves', relied solely upon 'beauty being in the eye of the beholder' and that offered no improvement over prevailing conditions.

Ruskin's examples and methods are also objectionable. He cited musicians and poets as exemplars of individuals capable of creating significant works without rules, but musicians and poets work within disciplines based upon well-defined systems of rules and theory. Likewise, Ruskin's selection of "well-known geniuses," who unconsciously followed rules and principles, suggests the definition of a genius as one born with inbred rules and standards and not one, as he would have us believe, without rules. Again, the issue must be raised that the Government Schools of

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[770] *Ibid.*, p. 504.
[771] *Ibid.*
[772] *Ibid.*

Design were not addressing themselves to the education of geniuses, but rather to the instruction of average students who would go on to become the designers of their nation's products. Their untutored predecessors had followed instinct and relied upon their untrained perception of correct taste to produce the products in the Exhibition condemned by the English Reformers and Ruskin as well. Suggesting that designers produce the colors of the sunset with gradation, delicacy, and surprise, did not offer any substantive theory. Finally, Ruskin's allusions to texts and paintings which proved his points contrast unfavorably with the careful quotations and citations of Jones.

Ruskin continued his attack on Jones's work and the studies of other polychromaticists, arguing that: "We know nothing of what colours were employed by the Egyptians, or by any of the ancient decorators. We had found a bit of red in one place and a powder of blue or yellow upon some other, and we know nothing more."[773] This opinion unrealistically ignored more than thirty years of prudent research by French, German, and English architects and archaeologists.[774] Their studies and publications could hardly be refuted by mid-century with any sincerity or credibility. Ruskin not only rejected prevailing color theory, but advocated his own rules. In direct opposition to Jones's position of defining structure through color, Ruskin argued that color should never follow form but should always be arranged on a different system.[775] His first two rules on the separation of color and form attack the work of Jones; Ruskin demands: "Never paint a column with vertical lines, but always cross it. Never give separate mouldings separate colours."[776]

Jones's friend and colleague, Matthew Digby Wyatt dismissed Ruskin's theory

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[773]Ruskin, "The General Principles of Colour," *The Works*, p. 503.
[774]Dissertation David Van Zanten; Middleton and Watkin, *Neoclassical and Nineteenth Century Architecture*, Vol. 1, pp. 99-101.
[775]Brooks, p. 85.
[776]*Ibid.*

on the separation of colour and form as "a piece of dogmatic heterodoxy"[777] and other members of the architectural community continued to respect Jones's theories. Later, Christopher Dresser would reflect their feelings when he described his former teacher, Jones, as "a man who, by his works, has manifested his knowledge of ornament, and who has given forth more real practical information respecting the decorative art in his propositions...than Mr. Ruskin has in his more voluminous writings." Ruskin was not the only one critical of Jones's principles, however, and the 1854 lecture may have been calculated to take advantage of one of Jones's more controversial efforts on behalf of the Government Schools of Design.

This was an exhibit mounted in the Museum of Ornamental Art depicting examples of "False Principles in Design," or bad taste.[778] The object was to make the public aware of the inferior and bad designs existing in their surroundings. Richard Redgrave wrote the catalogue for the exhibit which identified "the chief vice in decoration common to Europe" as "the tendency towards *direct imitation of nature,* in this natural or merely imitative style."[779] Objects singled out for scorn included the type of metal imitations of plants and flowers which proliferated at the Great Exhibition as a result of the invention of electroplating. The catalogue criticized furniture festooned with "enormous wreaths of flowers, fish, game and fruits" and carpets depicting "imitative floral designs with flowers out of scale, imitation architectural mouldings and scrolls, imitation of Gothic panelling, even representations of landscapes, and cornucopias filled with flowers, resting upon nothing" [Figures 108 and 109][780]

The exhibit also included examples of chintzes patterned with large flowers, including the hollyhock chintz which had won a prize the year before at the Great

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[777]*Ibid.*
[778]Clive Wainwright, "Principles true and false: Pugin and the foundation of the Museum of Manufactures," *Burlington Magazine,* 1993.
[779]Barbara Morris, *Inspiration for Design,* p. 20.
[780]*Ibid.,* p. 21.

Exhibition. Numerous examples of wallpapers showed "perspective representations of a railway station and of the Crystal Palace and the Serpentine" [Figure 110].[781] Other papers featured "horses, water and ground floating in the air; representations of battles; imitations of ribbons in festoons etc. Dress fabrics and handkerchiefs came in for similar criticism" [Figure 111].[782]

Not everyone appreciated the efforts of the Museum to raise the level of public taste, however; Charles Dickens and others began ridiculing the examples shown and the attitude of the Government Schools of Design and their supporters. Dickens's *Household Words* printed a story entitled *A House Full of Horrors* on December 4, 1852 in which a Mr. Crumpet, whose "cheerfulness was like a bird at tea" became "haunted by the most horrid shapes" and the realization that his whole house was full of horrors. The reason for his misery came from his acquiring "some Correct Principles of Taste" as the result of a visit to the museum of ornamental art in the Department of Practical Art in Marlborough House.[783] He reported: "I had heard of a Chamber of Horrors there established, and found it...it was a gloomy chamber, hung round with frightful objects in curtains, carpets, clothes, lamps, and what not..."[784] He said he could have cried; he was so ashamed for a piece of the pattern of his trousers was hung up as a "horror" there. Worse, he was afraid to wipe the perspiration from his brow, for fear that someone would see the wreath of coral on his handkerchief. He confided that he observed it all and when he went home found that he had been living among horrors; for example, the paper in his parlour contained "four kinds of birds of paradise, besides bridges and pagodas" [Figure 112 shows a paper popular at the time].[785]

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[781] *Ibid.*
[782] *Ibid.*
[783] *Ibid.*
[784] *Ibid.*
[785] *Ibid.*, p. 21-22.

The "False Principles" were ridiculed again in Chapter XI of Dickens's *Hard Times;* a novel serialized in *Household Words* in the summer of 1854.[786] Cole was satirized in the text as a school inspector. When a class of children failed to provide the resounding renunciation of the idea of wallpapering a room with horses or using a carpet with flowers on it, Cole exclaimed:

> You are not to have, in any object of use or ornament, what would be a contradiction in fact. You don't find that foreign birds and butterflies come and perch on your crockery. You never meet the quadrupeds going up and down the walls...you must use, for all purposes, combinations and modifications (in primary colours) of mathematical figures which are susceptible of proof and demonstration. This is the new discovery. This is fact. This is taste. What is called taste is another name for fact.[787]

Dickens was not the only one provoked; designers and manufacturers of the products displayed and some members of the public also took offense to the items being stigmatized by the exhibit. Consequently, a "three-volume pamphlet, running to some hundred pages...written under the pseudonym Argus" was published in London in 1853.[788] The title of the pamphlet proclaimed its intention: 'A Mild Remonstrance Against the Taste--Censorship at Marlborough House In Reference to Manufacturing Ornamentation and Decorative Design.'[789] The publication was addressed "To Manufacturers, Decorators, Designers, and the Public in general" and contained, in the words of Barbara Morris, "fierce attacks on Richard Redgrave, Owen Jones and Henry Cole, describing them as the 'Triumvirate of Taste -- the Great Trinity!'"[790]

The pamphlet began by announcing:

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[786]*Ibid.*, p. 22.
[787]*Ibid.*, p. 24.
[788]*Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.
[789]*Ibid.*
[790]*Ibid.*, p. 25.

> Englishmen know nothing of Taste. The saying is as trite as any proverb. Frenchmen, Italians, Arabs, Indians, Chinese, Tartars, and even Savages are all in on the secret. Benighted Britons -- always renowned for Tin -- know nothing of Beauty, nothing of Refinement, nothing of Fine Art, nothing of Taste. Of course there are a few exalted spirits in the land of rain, and fog, and semi-darkness -- a travelled few -- who have become conscious, we may almost say proudly conscious, of the fact.[791]

Redgrave's *Principles of Design* received the most abuse, but Jones also received criticism. The attacks were direct: "The writer suspected him to be 'Half Moor, and more than half a Mussulman...in his mode of thinking on taste,'"[792] and indirect, when the Museum was attacked for the amount of money spent on purchasing modern objects from the 1851 Exhibition. In addition, Barabara Morris reports that all the 'Principles' in the appendix to the Marlborough House catalogue were challenged, and "the prominence given to Indian objects in the collection, with their laudatory catalogue entries, came in for vehement attack."[793] Morris notes that the pamphlet concluded with the writers satirical set of principles: "Ultimate Principle -- Human Progress and Enlightenment. This demands Art and deprecates Conventionalism. Immediate Principle -- Commerce. This demands the Complex in Ornamentation in preference to the simple.'"[794]

The "False Principles" Exhibit was removed, but the 'Triumvirate of Taste' remained firm in advocating the principles expressed by Jones, and it was not long before their efforts were lauded by members of industry and the press who realized that the reformers were succeeding in their campaign to improve public taste and product design.[795] It was logical that many of the leading manufacturers sought Jones's extraordinary talents and reknown to assist in the design and promotion of

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[791] *Ibid.*
[792] *Ibid.*
[793] *Ibid.*
[794] *Ibid.*
[795] It is interesting to note that Henry Cole's diary dated February 11, 1871 says: "Owen Jones came to lunch - offered him *L* 50 to prepare and exhibit a collection of False Principles in 51' x 71' and deliver a lecture which should be repeated for *L* 10 cash.

their products. As a result, much of the architect's activity was diverted into the creation of patterns for wallpapers, textiles, carpets, encaustic tiles, and paper products, for the leading firms in each industry [Figures 113 - 115]. Examples of these manufacturers include: John Trumble & Company,[796] Jeffrey & Co.,[797] and Townsend Parker & Co. for wallpapers,[798] Daniel Walter's (later Warner's) for textiles,[799] James Templeton and Co. of Glasgow for carpets,[800] plus Minton's and Maw and Company for tiles.[801] Jones also collaborated with the interiors firm of Jackson and Graham to produce decorative ensembles of furniture, furnishings, and architectural embellishment in both public and private commissions.[802]

Jones's successful schemes for all types of products influenced the design community and the public. *The Furniture Gazette* recognized his contribution to wallpaper design as: "The infusion of something like a pure and good taste in regard to this class of work was due, like so many other improvements in ornamental art, to Owen Jones in the first instance more than anyone else. He almost invented a style of paper of his own, in which purely natural forms were entirely discarded."[803] The

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[796]Advertisement by John Trumble & Company announcing themselves as the "Sole Manufacturers of Mr. Owen Jones's New Designs for 1859," *Architectural Exhibition Catalogue,* 1859, Darby files.

[797]Herbert Jeans, *The Periods in Interior Decoration,* London, The Trade Papers Publishing Co., Ltd., 1921, p. 114.

[798]The Prints and Drawings Department, Victoria and Albert Museum, has ten pattern-books, some produced by John Trumble & Sons, Jeffrey & Co., and Townsend, Parker & Co., between 1852-1874 given by Miss Catherine Jones.

[799]The Textiles Department, Victoria and Albert Museum has woven silks which Jones designed for Warner's, including the patterns: *Sunflower, Culross, Etruscan,* and *Peri.* Letter from Wendy Hefford, Deputy Curator, Textiles and Dress, V&A, July 27, 1995.

[800]One identified carpet by Jones for Templeton & Co. is in the Victoria and Albert Museum Item Number T.100-1953. Letter from Wendy Hefford, Deputy Curator, Textiles and Dress, V&A, July 27, 1995.

[801]Advertisement for "Border or frieze, composed of Tesserae 1/2-inch square. Price of the Tesserae at the Works 14s. 9d. per yard: can be supplied in large Slabs ready for fixing.--Part of a Published Design by Owen Jones." *Catalogue of the Seventeenth Exhibition of the Architecture Exhibition Society,* 9, Conduit Street, Regent Street, London, 1867, p. 45.

[802]Examples of these commissions include the interiors of the Langham Hotel, interiors for Alfred Morrison at Fonthill and 16 Carlton House Terrace, and the decoration for the Viceroy's Palace, Cairo.

[803]*The Furniture Gazette,* May 13, 1876, p. 301.

article described his favourite type of pattern for wallpaper "as consisting of abstract ornamental forms based upon principles of natural growths but totally devoid of imitative character. These designs showed great subtlety, ingenuity and refinement of line; and they kept strictly within the bounds proper to mechanically produced ornament."[804] The article continued: "Many of them [his wallpaper designs] came into extensive use, not only in papers of the best class, but in cheaper ones; for Owen Jones like a true artist, was not above giving his mind to designing simple and inexpensive things with care and thought."[805] Michael Darby notes that Matthew Digby Wyatt had made a similar acknowledgement six years earlier, stating that: "Mr. Owen Jones...has assisted the English paper-hanging manufacturers more than any other living artist."[806]

Henry Cole offered Jones a professorship in the Government School of Design, but Jones declined. He and Matthew Digby Wyatt split from Cole and Prince Albert to work with Paxton on the re-erection of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham. This was a major project with goals and results considerably different from the Great Exhibition. The Crystal Palace in Hyde Park symbolized the progressive spirit which invited all the nations of the earth to join in a peaceful demonstration of the efforts of their labor;[807] however, the redesigned Crystal Palace at Sydenham exemplified another important nineteenth century consciousness: the Utopian passion to attempt the improvement of society by educating and elevating the minds

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[804]*Ibid.*, p. 301.
[805]*Ibid.*, p. 301.
[806]Darby Dissertation, p. 448.
[807]"The distances which separated the different nations and parts of the globe, are gradually vanishing before the achievements of modern invention, and we can traverse them with incredible speed..The products of all quarters of the globe are placed at our disposal, and we have only to choose which is the best and cheapest for our purposes, and the powers of production are entrusted to the stimulus of competition and capital...The Exhibition of 1851 is to give us a true test and a living picture of the point of development at which the whole of mankind has arrived in this great task, and a new starting-point, from which all nations will be able to direct their future exertions." Prince Albert from his speech at the banquet given by the Lord Mayor of London in honour of the projected Great Exhibition of 1851, *Architectural Review* (London), 1937, v. 81, p. 45.

and tastes of all of the people, particularly the working classes.[808] This moral purpose generated a new building type, known as a "Palace of the People," incorporating the benefits of a museum, concert hall, winter garden, exhibition areas, and beautifully landscaped grounds [Figure 116]. The press recognized the "honest intention on the part of the directors to make the Crystal Palace something far beyond a mere place of amusement," and conceded that if the directors' intentions were successfully carried out, they would "produce permanently beneficial results on the great masses for whom the new structure is mainly intended."[809]

Jones participated in the design and decoration of the reworked Crystal Palace erected at Sydenham.[810] The site selected formed an irregular parallelogram of over three hundred acres, with 1300 feet of frontage on the London to Brighton Railway between the Sydenham and Anerley stations. The land dropped over two hundred feet over the course of this plot, presenting several benefits. First, the building could be placed on the summit of the hill, almost due north and south, achieving visibility for forty miles. To gain this advantage, brick piers had to be built to support the garden side of the structure. The space between these pillars, familiarly known as the Paxton Tunnel, offered additional advantages by serving as a storage area for heating equipment and as exhibition space for heavy machinery and agricultural implements. Each end of this space joined a 576 foot wing. The North Wing provided access to the gardens from the Queen's private apartments and the South

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[808]The Prospectus for the Crystal Palace at Sydenham promised "A Palace of the People" with "refined recreation, calculated to elevate the intellect, instruct the mind, improve the hearts of, and welcome the millions who now have no other incentives to pleasure but such as the gin-palace, the dancing saloon and the ale-house afford them." Eric de Mare', *London 1851: The Year of the Great Exhibition,* London, The Folio Press, 1973.

[809]"The New Crystal Palace," *Daily News,* July 23, 1852.

[810]One critic of his coloration of the elements in the Greek Court admitted that Jones was "a Gentleman, who has been most indefatigable in the department allotted to him by the Board of Directors. I write, not of one department only, but of several, for the work allotted to Mr. Owen Jones was more than ought to have been entrusted to one person." See Samuel Leigh Sotheby, *A Few Words by Way of a Letter addressed to the Directors of the Crystal Palace Company,* London, John Russell Smith, 1855, p. 25.

Wing formed a sheltered access to the railway station built specifically for passengers travelling to the new Crystal Palace. The steeply sloping site also afforded extensive, picturesque areas for lakes and parks, plus impressive views of the Surrey and Kent Countryside.[811]

The new building was shorter (1608 feet to 1851 feet) and narrower (384 feet to 456 feet) than its' predecessor, but presented a more complex, and most thought, a more satisfactory profile.[812] Three transepts helped to define the structure. Two of these repeated the dimensions of the single transept in the Hyde Park building, but the Central Transept rose 176 feet from the ground-floor, and 200 feet from the basement, "about the same height as the interior of the dome of St. Sophia, Constantinople."[813] This transept was 120 feet wide, exceeding the span of St. Peter's in Rome by approximately twenty feet.[814]

The extent to which Owen Jones assisted Paxton in the design of this iron and glass structure and the accommodation of the building to the site is not known, but contemporary references suggest that he was involved with all aspects of the project.[815] He is listed as one of the architects invited to submit designs for the water works Paxton hoped would surpass the famed aquatic displays at Versailles.[816] Paxton's biographer, Dr. George Chadwick, acknowledges that Jones

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[811]John Hix, *The Glass House,* Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1974, pp. 440-1.

[812]*The Illustrated London News,* June 10, 1854, p. 548.

[813]*The Illustrated London News,* June 10, 1854, p. 548.

[814]*Ibid.*

[815]In the original prospectus Paxton was appointed Director of the Winter Garden, Matthew Digby Wyatt as Director of the Works, and Owen Jones as Director of Decorations. These roles changed before the project commenced with Paxton becoming in charge of the entire operation and Jones and Wyatt sharing the responsibility for designing the Fine Arts Courts. Charles Heard Wild served as the initial engineer for the project. Darby dissertation, pp. 332-333.

[816]"Paxton undertook a complex system of water-works...unprecedented in this country. Two of the jets were to rise to a height of two hundred feet, and the general effect to out-shine even that at Versailles." Darby Dissertation, p. 334. "Ten architects and sculptors, some foreign, some English, were selected to give designs, and the sum of 100*l.* was paid to each. Amongst them were John Bell, Hector Horeau, Owen Jones, Kiss of Berlin, John Thomas, D. Wyatt, &c." They produced and submitted about one hundred designs in August 1855. *The Builder,* August, 1855, p. 530.

was involved in many facets of the design of the building and the gardens and that the garden feature known as the Rosary, usually attributed to Paxton, was Jones's project entirely.[817] Jones was also responsible for a cafe' designed to be located on the grounds.[818] In the *Crystal Palace*, Henry-Russell Hitchcock argues that Paxton followed the advice of Jones, not Barry, in designing the new structure. He cites the addition of the Saracenic reversed curved domes as evidence, since Jones produced similiar domes in his designs for the Paris Exhibition at St. Cloud and for the North London Crystal Palace at Muswell Hill.[819] The interior "Vistas, arranged with great art and admirable effect" which formed "one of the most remarkable features of the Crystal Palace," also suggest the aesthetic talent of Jones [Figure 117].[820]

Jones produced the decoration and color scheme of the Sydenham Palace; this time without the maelstrom experienced prior to the 1851 Exhibition. In fact, the initial press reports calmly announced that "as far as color is concerned, we are perfectly secure, seeing that the whole of this department is under the management of Mr. Owen Jones."[821] In developing his scheme, the architect followed the same reasoning and rules that he observed in the first Crystal Palace, but altered the color of the columns and other features to conform to the changed size and conditions of the new building. Unlike the complex of items displayed in the nave of the first building, the nave of the new building formed a huge promenade filled with examples of plants and trees from every clime in a resplendent green oasis. To

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[817]Meeting of George Chadwick, Ph.D. and Carol A. Flores, August, 1993, in Lincoln, UK.
[818]Darby Dissertation, p. 334.
[819]Hitchcock, *The Crystal Palace,* p. 37 and *Early Victorian Architecture,* p. 552. Michael Darby also suggests the plausibility of Wyatt and Jones collaborating on the design. Darby Dissertation, p. 333.
[820]*The Illustrated London News,* June 10, 1854, p. 548. Vistas for viewing were one of the criteria of the Building Committee for the 1851 Exhibition determined well before Paxton appeared on the scene.
[821]Article entitled "The Crystal Palace at Sydenham" copied from material in the Windsor Archives in the Archives of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851, Windsor Archives: , on permanent loan to the 1851 Commission. I am grateful to Valerie Phillips, Archivist, for sending me this material on July 14, 1995.

provide proportional contrast and substantiality in this setting, Jones painted the columns red with moulding accents in blue and yellow. The horizontal trusses, ribs in the roof, and exterior of the building, repeated the Hyde Park scheme.[822]

When the painting was completed in April, 1854, *The Builder* pronounced the effect of the interior as "very fine"[823] and Matthew Digby Wyatt described the exterior, saying "in the changing points of view the aerial effect of colour and reflection on the crystal structure will be best appreciated: since on one of those changeful April days when nature is alternately displayed in smiles and tears, the sunbeams flicker from roof to roof along the building, and the varied fluctuations of light and colour render the aspect of the edifice almost ethereal."[824] At the opening of the Palace, *The Builder* called the interior "very charming," and said that as they expected, "now that the green foliage is introduced, the red colour of the pillars is seen to be very agreeable, and the eye greedily wanders on refreshed and invigorated."[825] *The Builder's* reporter also commented that "The building has scarcely such an effect of length as the old structure in Hyde-park"[826] and attributed this to the changed form of the roof and the rearrangement of columns, but it should also be noted that the altered effect can be attributed, in part, to Jones's revised scheme.

On the interior, the exhibits were considerably different from the items featured in 1851. Although displays of industrial items were assembled in the southern half of the Great Transept, the principal attractions of the building were the Fine Arts Courts, in the northern section. *The Builder* expressed the hope that "The prejudices in favour of particular styles set up at one moment and altered the next, and which architects have had no option but that of following this way and

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[822]Darby Dissertation, pp. 343-344.
[823]*The Builder,* April, 1854, p. 194.
[824]Darby Dissertation, pp. 343.
[825]*The Builder,* June 10, 1854, p. 297.
[826]*Ibid.*

that, will, it is to be hoped, be influenced advantageously by the means of comparison which are, for the first time to any great extent afforded at Sydenham." Although the reporter for the periodical realized that "though necessarily, still but partial representations of the few forms of architectural expression which they attempt to depict, the Fine Arts Courts may become the basis of much enlightened appreciation of the several points of difference in detail and general principle" and "in this way they may be of great service, both to architects and to the public."[827]

Jones designed the Greek, Egyptian, Alhambra, Roman, and Modern Sculpture Courts and, his close friend and colleague, Matthew Digby Wyatt created, the Italian, Renaissance, Medieval, and Byzantine Courts, and the historian, James Fergusson completed the Assyrian Court "under the general direction A. H. Layard, M. P."[828] These architectural reconstructions were aimed at producing "a complete historical illustration of the arts of sculpture and architecture, from the earliest works of Egypt and Assyria, down to modern times, comprising casts of every celebrated statue in the world, and restorations of some of its most remarkable monuments."[829] Both architects were knowledgeable about the areas they were designing and they supplemented their own expertise with advice from other experts. In addition, they travelled to the finest museums and collections in Europe and the Middle East with a budget of *L*20,000 to obtain castings of the sculpture and ornament to be displayed.[830]

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[827]*The Builder,* Vol. XII, No. 584, p. 193.
[828]Philip H. Delamotte, *Photographic Views of the Progress of the Crystal Palace Sydenham,* London, Crystal Palace Company, 1855.
[829]*The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal,* No. 244, Vol. XVII, July, 1854, p. 32.
[830]They left England in August 1852 and returned in November 1852. It is interesting to note that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Malmesbury, provided them with letters of introduction to ambassadors in the countries they visited. These letters expressed the sympathy of the English government with their undertaking, an unusual expression of government support for a private enterprise; this involvement is similar to the government's participation in the Great Exhibition of 1851, which was also privately funded and organized. In addition, the attendance of the Queen and Prince Consort at the opening of both Crystal Palaces underscores the interest of the monarchy in these projects.

The directors of the Sydenham project were seriously committed to the education of the public. They financed the creation of displays on an unprecedented scale (approximately £161,617)[831] to capture the interest and enthusiasm of the public and to communicate the latest findings in the art and scientific worlds in a method superior and more easily comprehensible than the isolated objects withdrawn from their appropriate contexts and exhibited in the British Museum.[832] They planned to cover their enormous costs through ticket receipts and rentals on retail and industrial exhibit space.[833] Unfortunately, the project was never a financial success, but millions visited "this great marketplace of human knowledge" before its destruction by fire in 1937.[834]

Jones and Wyatt received impressive salaries of two thousand five hundred pounds a year for their involvement in the project, an assignment they considered most important.[835] The two architects believed that the revised Crystal Palace offered them the opportunity to effect public taste in a meaningful way by creating a living museum with courts depicting "the manners, costumes, &c. of different countries." They planned an Indian Court representing an Indian bazaar, with adjoining durbars and reception rooms. Here all the illustrations of Indian life would be displayed in as "vivid and characteristic manner as possible."[836] One of the smaller transepts was to contain Egyptian antiquities, including "casts from the celebrated reliefs, illustrative of the trades of Egypt, and from the most noted statues--all coloured exactly like the originals, and so disposed as not to be a mere

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[831]Delamotte, *Photographic Views of the Progress of the Crystal Palace Sydenham.*
[832]"By the time of completion, the building had cost almost three times the original estimate, and nearly one third of that had gone into the Fine Arts displays". Darby dissertation, p. 345.
[833]Over two million people visited the Crystal Palace at Sydenham each year for the first thirty years it was open. Darby Dissertation, p. 345.
[834]"The Crystal Palace at Sydenham," Material received from Valerie Phillips, July 14, 1995.
[835]The salaries of Jones and Wyatt were noted in Cole's diary on 28 June 1852. Darby files.
[836]Excerpt from an article believed to be from the *Evening Sun* in the files of the Royal Commissioners of the Great Exhibition sent to Carol Flores by Valerie Phillips, Archivist, July 14, 1995.

dead collection of individual objects, but a living reproduction of Egyptian manners and things." Jones had been advocating the need for the public's aesthetic education since his lecture "On the Influence of Religion Upon Art" delivered in 1835. His criticism of the projects displayed by British firms in the Great Exhibition of 1851 was aimed at the designers, manufacturers, and the public who mistook excess, historicism, and realistic imitation for true art.[837] The Fine Arts Courts presented a unique opportunity to introduce both the trained professional and the untrained visitor to the arrangement and motifs of monumental architecture within their appropriate contexts. To assist in this effort, Jones recommended that guides or handbooks be prepared by experts in art and architecture to explain the displays [Figure 118].[838] At his death, *The Building News* noted that "While constructive architecture has hardly advanced a step, decorative art has made strides which are noticeable...The teachings of Ruskin may have done something, but the beautiful works of Owen Jones, and the examples of the true principles of decorative Art he has left us in the courts at Sydenham have largely educated the popular eye and taste in this direction."[839]

Examples of the care taken to ensure accuracy can be found in the creation of the Egyptian Court where Jones persuaded his old friend and the esteemed Egyptologist, Joseph Bonomi, to recreate images of the figures of Abu Simbel from Bonomi's earlier casts of the heads and Jones's original measurements of the bodies

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[837]Jones was highly critical of the items exhibited in 1851, saying: "We have no principles, no unity; the architect, the upholster, the paper-stainer, the weaver, the calico-printer, and the potter, run each their independent course; each struggles fruitlessly, each produces in art novelty without beauty, or beauty without intelligence". Owen Jones, "Colour in the Decorative Arts," *Lectures on the Great Exhibition*, 2d ser., London, 1853, p. 256. Quoted in Buckley, *The Victorian Temper*, p. 261 and Boris Ford, *Victorian Britain*, p. 234.

[838]Jones maintained that "no improvement can take place in the Art of the present generation until all classes, Artists, Manufacturers, and the Public, are better educated in Art, and the existence of general principles is more fully recognised" Proposition Thirty-seven, *The Grammar of Ornament*, 1868 edition, p. 8.

[839]*The Building News*, April 24, 1874, p. 440.

[Figure 119].[840] Bonomi assisted with the rest of the Court which Jones based upon drawings he and Goury made in 1833 and from other publications on Egypt.[841] The design was not meant to reproduce any particular site, but to illustrate "portions of monuments of the Pharaonic, Ptolemaic, and Roman periods, endeavoring at the same time so to arrange them that their union should not be inconsistent with the practice of the Egyptians; whose structures were very rarely the work of one mind, but rather a succession of temples, courts, and propylons, built under different kings[842] [Figure 120]. Bonomi was also an expert in Egyptian hieroglyphics and probably created the hieroglyphic message in the frieze over the entry reading

> In the seventeenth year of the reign of her Majesty, the ruler of the waves, the royal daughter, Victoria, lady most gracious, the chiefs, architects, sculptors and painters, erected this palace and gardens, with a thousand columns, a thousand decorations, a thousand statues of chiefs and ladies, a thousand trees, a thousand flowers, a thousand birds and beasts, a thousand fountains, and a thousand vases. The architects, and painters, and sculptors, built this palace as a book for the instruction of the men of all countries, regions, and districts. May it be prosperous.[843]

The Egyptian Court also contained the recreation of the tomb of Beni Hassan [Figure 121], dating around 1660, B.C., described "as exhibiting the first *order* of Egyptian columns, which was employed in constructing buildings at as remote a period as two thousand years before Christ; this fluted column in another respect

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[840]Samuel Sharpe, *Description of the Egyptian Court Erected in the Crystal Palace by Owen Jones, Architect, and Joseph Bonomi, Sculptor,* London, Crystal Palace Library, p. 25 and *Egyptomania,* ed. by Lynda Muir, Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, 1970, p. 490.
[841]Owen Jones, "Preface," *Description of the Egyptian Court...in the Crystal Palace,* p. 3.
[842]"Preface," *Description of the Egyptian Court,* p. 4.
[843]*The Crystal Palace Expositor,* London, p. 22. The idea of using the architectural displays as a book is interesting in relation to the earlier mentioned chapter in Victor Hugo's *Hunchback of Notre Dame:* "The One will Kill the Other" (Chapter II), *The Works of Victor Hugo,* Volume 1, Boston and New York, The Jefferson Press, 1900, p.178-193. See also, Neil Levine, "The book and the building: Hugo's theory of architecture and Labrouste's Bibliotheque Ste-Genevieve," *The Beaux-Arts,* p. 139-168.

claims our attention, for there can be but little doubt that it supplied the Greeks with the model of their early Doric."[844]

While Jones's treatment of the Alhambra Court received universal interest and praise, his decoration of the Greek Court raised considerable controversy.[845] The Greek Court was screened off from the nave by a plain wall, punctuated by three openings [Figures 122 and 123]. These openings contained distyle columns *in antis*. As in the Egyptian Court, inscriptions were placed over each opening. The central portal accessed a square court flanked by porticoes meant to be representative of the Greek *agora*.

Although discussions about the use of polychromy in ancient architecture had taken place for more than two decades and color had become an important component in the Gothic Revival and other contemporary design, Jones's depiction of various painting theories in the Greek Court was "hotly disputed."[846] The focus of this contention concerned the painting of the representation of the Parthenon frieze which Jones divided "into three portions--the first painted like a picture; the second, white on a blue ground; the third, pure white."[847] In his *Apology for the Colouring of the Greek Court*, he acknowledged the debate over the provision or lack of color in Greek architecture and said that he felt that to color a Greek monument at Sydenham was one of the most interesting problems he could undertake in order to eliminate some of the prejudice surrounding the question. He referenced the work of Goury, Semper, Hittorff, and Penrose on the subject and then concluded that "an examination of the facts recorded by these various authorities will convince anyone

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[844]*The Illustrated London News,* August 5, 1854, p. 112.

[845]In his obituary, *The Building News* reported that "the Alhambra Court, which was carried out under his own careful supervision, is a monument of his talent as a designer. It is remarked that the Shah of Persia, in his recent visit, was more attracted by the beauty of the remains of that court than the rest of the Palace," *The Building News,* April 24, 1874, p. 440. Note: "The remains of that court" refers to the fact that the court had sustained damage in a fire.

[846]"Opening of the Crystal Palace," *The Illustrated London News,* June 10, 1854, p. 548.

[847]*Ibid.*

that the question is now narrowed to one of degree only--To *what extent* were white marble temples painted and ornamented?" He maintained that they were *entirely* so; that neither the color of the marble nor even its surface was preserved."[848]

In specifically addressing his work in the Greek Court at Sydenham, he explained that he had tempered the use of color to allow the public eye to become prepared "for receiving what there are as yet so few facts to substantiate."[849] He then proceeded to articulate the sources and the reasons for his coloration of each part of the Court. In explaining the Panathenaic Frieze, he said that there could be no doubt that the frieze had been colored in some manner and that any unbiased person examining the portion of the frieze left white would have to acknowledge this fact. For justification he pointed to the fact that the portion of the frieze displayed at Sydenham was only sixteen feet to the center of the bas-relief, while the original was forty feet above the ground. Comparing the effect of the detail in the section left white with the section which Jones painted showed barely visible detail in the first instance and comprehensible detail in the second. He supported this contention by referring to the quality of Phidias's sculpture saying that Phidias was forced to take great pains with the sculpture since he would have known that the intended application color would emphasize any mistakes or poor details in his work. The third scheme demonstrated the belief of some that the backgrounds had been painted blue, but that the sculpture had not been treated with pigment.

He pointed out that his experiment was not an attempt to rival the achievement of the Greeks, but only to "produce a result that might have existed, and that would not have been discordant with the other portions of the Greek monument." He also maintains that "the experiment cannot be fairly tried till tried on marble, and in conditions of space, atmosphere, &c., similar to those under which

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[848]"Apology for the Colouring of the Greek Court," *The Greek Court Erected in the Crystal Palace, by Owen Jones.*, London, Crystal Palace Library, 1854, p. 7.
[849]*Ibid.*, p. 9.

the originals were placed." He concludes by saying that even if he had failed in producing an accurate representation, his work would have succeeded if it generated unbiased research into the question of the coloration. He also included an extract from Gottfried Semper's *The Four Elements of Architecture*" entitled "On the Origin of Polychromy in Architecture."[850] In *Photographic Views of the Progress of the Crystal Palace Sydenham,* Philip H. Delamotte described the painting of the trabeated ceiling in the Greek Court as "one of the triumphs of Mr. Owen Jones."[851] He observed that "the ornaments of this ceiling have for the most part been copied from existing patterns; -- but the manner of their juxtaposition, and the intermediate tints by which they are kept in due proportion and harmony are entirely due to the taste and skill of that gentleman."[852]

Delamotte also praised the Alhambra Court, saying: "It is difficult to imagine any more delightful sensation than that which Mr. Owen Jones must experience in having been enabled after the lapse of so many years to reproduce, in this complete and perfect form what could have been little more than the day dream of his youth."[853] Delamotte noted that "popular opinion says this is the finest court in the Fine Arts Department."[854] Jones's recreation of the Court of the Lions, the Tribunal of Justice, and the Hall of the Abencerrages were so admired and well-known that, as with many of Jones's other works, the Alhambra Court became a standard point of reference in the professional press and in the popular culture[855] [Figures 124 and 125]. For example, the entry on the "Alhambra" included in the 1877 issue of

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[850]The citation reads "Extracted from an Essay written in 1852, and published in Germany under the title of 'The Four Elements of Architecture.' By Professor Gottfried Semper," *The Greek Court Erected in the Crystal Palace,* by Owen Jones, London, Crystal Palace Library, 1854.

[851]Delamotte, *Photographic Views of the Progress of the Crystal Palace Sydenham,* text ccompanying Plate VII.

[852]*Ibid.*

[853]*Ibid.,* Text accompanying Plate XI.

[854]*Ibid.*

[855]*The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal,* Vol. XVII, July, 1854, pp. 241-246.

Chambers Encyclopedia reported that "the most characteristic parts of the Casa Real have been reproduced in the 'Alhambra Court' of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham,"[856] and Dr. Dresser wrote in his *Principles of Decorative Design* that information of Egyptian ornament could be found in "the *Grammar of Ornament* by Owen Jones, -- the works of Egypt by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson [Sir John Gardner Wilkinson]; and, especially by a visit to the Egyptian Court of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham."[857]

The Crystal Palace at Sydenham was important in Jones's campaign to educate the public about architecture and design; however, in less than two years after Sydenham was complete, Jones would produce the monument, in Hugo's words, that would outlast the building: *The Grammar of Ornament.*[858] The publication of *The Grammar* in 1856 satisfied one of the major objectives of the Government Schools of Design. The Government had called for "a work which should at once contain all the best acknowledged examples of ornamental design, in various branches; and also specimens, as far as they can be approved of newly invented combinations and original designs of ornament" as early as 1838.[859] This perception was based on the fact that the governments of Germany and Austria had already commissioned similar publications in 1830 and 1831.[860] The authorities in the

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[856]*Chambers Encyclopedia,* Vol I, London, W. and R. Chambers, 1877, p. 144.

[857]Charlotte Gere and Michael Whiteway, *Nineteenth-Century Design from Pugin to Mackintosh,* New York, Henry N. Abrams, Inc., 1994, p. 69.

[858]Jones was asked to suggest a design for the Oriental Courts in April, 1863, and received the commission. In September, 1863, he was paid *L*179 7s for design work; in 1864, he received *L26 5s* for supervising the execution of his design for Indian Court. In May 1864, the Board agreed to pay him *L* 150 to plan the Chinese and Japanese Courts. These sums appear to be restricted to design work only, since payment for supervision was listed separately. Salaries for the craftsmen who executed the decorations were also listed separately. John Physick, *The Victoria and Albert Museum: The history of its building,* London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1982, pp. 81-82.

Jones gave a series of lectures entitled "On the True and False in the Decorative Arts" at Marlborough House [predecessor to the Museum at South Kensington] in 1852.

[859]*The Drawing Book: Minutes of the Council of the Government School of Design from December 1836 to April 1844,* Vol. I, London, 1849, p. 428.

[860]"The earliest government-commissioned collection of designs for industry" was produced in 1830 by Peter Beuth. This work commissioned by the German government was entitled

Government School of Design finally selected Ludwig Gruner (1801-1802), art advisor to the Prince Consort, to prepare the British publication. Although his effort, entitled *Specimens of Ornamental Art selected from the best models of the Classical epochs* (1850), achieved a beautiful chromolithographic work [Figure 126] containing a wide variety of Pompeian, Roman, medieval, and Cinquecento designs, teachers in the Schools of Design criticized the examples selected, since Pompeian ornament was considered a part of a period of degenerate morality and, therefore, was not a style recommended for emulation by young British designers.[861] Consequently, Cole pressed Jones to prepare a subsequent book on ornamental design illustrating examples of historical ornament which represented the principles advocated by Jones and the Government Schools of Design.[862]

A preliminary outline for the book titled "Studies for *The Grammar of Ornament illustrated by examples from various styles of ornament*" is housed in the Prints and Drawings Department of the Royal Institute of British Architects.[863] This work includes sketches, executed in a variety of media,[864] and titles for styles and periods not included in the final publication. For example, the "Yucatan" and "Venetian" styles are omitted and chapters on "Primitive," "Assyrian," and "Indian"

Forbilder fur Fabrikanten und Handwerker [Examples of manufacturers and craftsmen] and contained information on designs for furniture and interiors by the architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841). The Austrian government appointed Johann Karl William Zahn to prepare *Ornamente aller Klassischen Kunstepochen [Ornaments of all classic art epochs]*; 1831-43. Source: Durant, p. 12.

[861]*Ibid.*, pp. 13 and 17.

[862]Both Cole and Jones endorsed the idea, based upon the doctrine of progress, that principles of design could be identified, taught, and practiced to improve the quality of design production. They advocated and carried out this approach in the Schools of Design through the communication of principles and the exposure to examples of good and inferior design meant to demonstrate the principles which they believed formed the basis of all good design. Many contemporaries, including John Ruskin and Charles Dickens, condemned this approach, since they believed the products of science, such as factories and industrialization, had introduced social problems and unrest. Isabelle Anscombe, *Arts & Crafts Style,* New York, Rizzoli, 1991, pp. 13-14.

[863]I am grateful to the Royal Institute of British Architects. Prints and Drawings Collection for the opportunity to view this work and to Dr. Neil Bingham and Tim Knox for their assisstance with items in the Collection on several occasions.

[864]Pencil, pen, coloured washes, gouache and gold.

ornament are added. In *Owen Jones's "The Grammar of Ornament" of 1856: Field Theory in Victorian Design at Mid-Century,* J. Kresten Jespersen explains these omissions as the result of the untimely death of Frederick Catherwood, Jones's friend and expert on the Yucatan, and of the rivalry between Jones and Ruskin, the Venetian expert.[865] Jespersen suggests that this preliminary material is probably the information Jones showed Cole on February 18, 1852.[866]

The first edition was an imperial folio containing a preface, Jones's theory of ornament, one hundred chromolithographed plates of a thousand examples of ornament, and twenty essays [Figures 127 - 132]. This composition revealed Jones's desire to provide a work which would assist students and design practitioners in comprehending the fundamental principles essential to good architecture and the decorative arts in addition to presenting examples of ornament for study. Jones emphasizes this intention in the "Preface," informing readers that it was "far beyond the limits of the powers of any one individual to attempt to gather together illustrations of the innumerable and ever-varying phases of Ornamental Art"[867] and that "it would be barely possible if undertaken by a government, and even then it would be too voluminous to be generally useful."[868] Consequently, he had selected "a few of the most prominent types [of ornament] in certain styles closely connected with each other, and in which certain general laws appeared to reign independently of the individual peculiarities of each."[869] He continued:

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[865]Jespersen, "Introduction" to compact disc on *The Grammar of Ornament,* unpublished draft, p. 2.

[866]According to Jespersen, this meeting took place at Marlborough House, Jespersen Dissertation, p. 16. Jones's work on the Crystal Palace at Sydenham probably intervened and he returned to the project after the Sydenham building was complete. Notice of the meeting is in Jespersen, "Owen Jones's "The Grammar". p. 16.

[867]Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament,* originally published London, Day and Son, 1856; the copy used for this quotation is from the edition published in London, Bernard Quaritch, 1868, p. 1.

[868]*Ibid.*

[869]*Ibid.*

> I have ventured to hope that, in thus bringing into immediate juxtaposition the many forms of beauty which every style of ornament presents, I might aid in arresting that unfortunate tendency of our time to be content with copying, whilst fashion lasts, the forms peculiar to any bygone age, without attempting to ascertain, generally completely ignoring, the peculiar circumstances which rendered an ornament beautiful, because it was appropriate, and which, as expressive of other wants when thus transplanted, as entirely fails.[870]

Jones realized that the collection offered the possibility of increased copying, but explained that his desire was to arrest that tendency and to awaken a higher ambition. In that regard, he encouraged students to seek out the thoughts which have been expressed in so many different languages and assured them that they would be rewarded with "an ever-gushing fountain in place of a half-filled stagnant reservoir."[871] He proceeded by outlining his objectives:

> First. That whenever any style of ornament commands universal admiration, it will always be found to be in accordance with the laws which regulate the distribution of form in nature.
>
> Secondly. That however varied the manifestations in accordance with these laws, the leading ideas on which they are based are very few.
>
> Thirdly. That the modifications and developments which have taken place from one style to another have been caused by a sudden throwing off of some fixed trammel, which set thought free for a time, till the new idea, like the old, became again fixed, to give birth in its turn to fresh inventions.
>
> Lastly. I have endeavoured to show, in the twentieth chapter, that the future progress of Ornamental Art may be best secured by engrafting on the experience of the past the knowledge we may obtain by a return to Nature for fresh inspiration. To attempt to build up theories of art, or to form a style, independently of the past, would be an act of supreme folly. It would be at once to reject the experiences and accumulated knowledge of thousands of years. On the contrary, we should regard as our inheritance all the successful labours of the past, not blindly following them, but employing them simply as guides to find the true path.[872]

The Preface to the text also contained Jones's acknowledgement of the contributions of the colleagues who had helped to form the collection of ornament

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[870] *Ibid.*
[871] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[872] *Ibid.*

contained within the text and who had written some of the essays providing the history and analysis of the styles illustrated. Contributions by others include: assistance from J. Bonomi (Egyptian), James Wild (Egyptian and Arabian), T. T. Bury (stained glass), and C. J. Richardson (Elizabethan materials). J. B. Waring, J. O. Westwood, and Matthew Digby Wyatt were singled out for their essays as well as the material they produced on ornament, and this acknowledgement indicated their efforts regarding Byzantine and Elizabethan, Celtic, and Renaissance Ornament respectively. Christopher Dresser, of Marlborough House, was also so mentioned for his "interesting plate No. 8 of the twentieth chapter, exhibiting the geometrical arrangement of natural flowers."[873] Jones also thanked his pupils Albert Warren and Charles Aubert and a Mr. Stubbs for the remainder of the drawings and preparing them for publication. Recognition was also given to the noted engraver, Francis Bedford, and his assistants: H. Fielding, W.R. Tymms, A. Warren, and S. Sedgfield, and Jones noted that the engravers had executed the one hundred plates in less than one year. Finally, Jones recognized Day and Son, the publishers and printers of the work, and commended them for completing the work ahead of schedule.[874]

Jones followed the Preface with the "GENERAL PRINCIPLES IN THE ARRANGEMENT OF FORM AND COLOUR, IN ARCHITECTURE AND THE DECORATIVE ARTS, WHICH ARE ADVOCATED THROUGHOUT THIS WORK."[875] These thirty-seven axioms repeat the thirty-one principles developed in the *Plans, Sections, Elevations, and Details of the Alhambra*,[876] in "Gleanings from the Great Exhibition of 1851, and in

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[873]*Ibid.*

[874]*Ibid.*, pp. 3-5.

[875]The text and plates of *The Grammar of Ornament* (taken from the 1868 edition) have just been released on a compact disc produced by Direct Imagination, Inc., Pasadena, California, April, 1996. The purpose of this latest version is to make the text and images available to designers and scholars as a resource and inspiration for new elementss and motifs in design.

[876]The ideas expressed in the text accompanying Plate 36 in the *Alhambra* are repeated in Proposition 22 in *The Grammar of Ornament.*

his lectures *On the Influence of Religion Upon Art,* on *Colour in the Decorative Arts,* and *The True and the False in the Decorative Arts* discussed above.[877] He also added six new principles.

The first, Proposition Eight, stipulated that "all ornament should be based upon a geometrical construction."[878] Jespersen reports that Jones consistently illustrated four major types of ornament not formed by the conventionalization of natural foliage and flora; these motifs demonstrate the overt use of geometry in the structure of the ornament. These geometric patterns include the fret, the diaper, the chevron, and the rosette. Jespersen notes that sixty-four examples of the chevron are represented in eleven of the styles depicted in *The Grammar;* these styles include: the savage tribes of the Polynesia, Egyptian, Greek, Pompeian, Byzantine, Persian, Hindu, Indian, Chinese, Medieval, and the Renaissance.[879]

The second type of geometrical ornament is the rosette. Jespersen says that this motif "with its divisions of the circle into equal parts is an example of an almost purely geometrical motif which has, nevertheless, strong associations with flora: with this difference, that the rosette is the first motif to be borrowed from an original style and conventionalized by another style."[880] He explains this phenomena saying: the evolution of the rosette is historical in its form, "and the Assyrians, who borrowed it from the Egyptians, went on to greater elaborations but not to a greater understanding of the process of conventionalizing itself."[881]

The third geometric motif is the fret and its derivative form: the interlace. Jones illustrated examples of Greek frets in Plate XV and noted the "remarkable affinity" between the Greek compositions and the examples of Mexican pottery

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[877]These ideas were expressed in "Gleanings from the Great Exhibition of 1851, *Journal of Design Manufactures,* Volume V, 1851, pp. 89-93, and in *Lectures on Architecture and the Decorative Arts* (1864).
[878]Jespersen Dissertation, p. 40.
[879]*Ibid.*
[880]*Ibid.*
[881]*Ibid.*

contained in the British Museum.[882] He explained the formation of patterns using the fret. These start with the simple fret, running in one direction, and advance to the double fret, with a second line interfacing with the first. Variations are formed by placing these frets one under the other, running in different directions; placing them back to back; or enclosing them in squares. Jones also recognizes the raking fret as "the parent of all the other forms of interlacing ornament in styles which succeeded the Greek."[883] He explained that the Arabian fret, which generated the "infinite variety of interlaced ornaments formed by the intersection of equidistant diagonal lines,"[884] derived from the Greek. He then compared the frets developed by the Greeks, the Arabs, the Moors, the Celts, and the Chinese, and added the fragmentary frets (those without a continuous meander) recorded by Catherwood in the Yucatan.[885] Jespersen's investigation of *The Grammar* reveals continuous frets illustrated in the examples of Egyptian, Pompeian, Roman, Byzatine, Arab, Moorish, Persian, Chinese, Medieval, Renaissance, and Italian ornament, and discontinuous, or fragmentary, examples in the ornament of the Greeks, the Chinese, the Yucatan, and a Greek fragment from India.[886]

Jespersen recognizes the fourth type, the diaper, as the most important form of geometric ornament illustrated in *The Grammar*. He noted approximately three hundred and fifty examples within the text involving seventeen of the nineteen styles covered, with only the Roman and the Italian styles excepted. Jespersen points out that "conservative classic diapers such as the checkerboard pattern of the Egyptians can be traced intact through the Occidental styles until the Renaissance, while more or less complex geometries can be studied in most oriental styles."[887]

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[882]Jones, "*The Grammar,*" p. 35.
[883]*Ibid.*
[884]*Ibid.*
[885]*Ibid.*
[886]*Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.
[887]*Ibid,* p. 41.

Two new principles, which distinguish the axioms presented in *The Grammar* from Jones's earlier writings and lectures, concern color. The first, Number Twenty-one, repeats the rationale Jones used in developing the decoration for the first Crystal Palace. The principle offers the following direction: "In using the primary colours on moulded surfaces, we should place blue, which retires, on the concave surfaces; yellow, which advances, on the convex; and red, the intermediate colour, on the undersides; separating the colours by white on the vertical planes." Jones may have thought it necessary to introduce this principle emphasizing the use of color to define structure to refute Ruskin's insistence that color should be applied independent of structure. The other principle concerning color may have been another response to Ruskin. This principle, Proposition Twenty-Eight states: "Colours should never be allowed to impinge upon each other."[888] Jones may have added this principle to refute Ruskin's rule for the gradation of color.

Another new principle, Proposition Thirty-Five, explains Jones's position on a subject of high interest and controversy in Victorian Britain: the subject of imitation of materials. Ruskin identified the painting of one material to represent another (for example, wood to represent marble) as a "surface deceit" and a violation of his Lamp of Truth.[889] Jones, on the other hand, takes a different approach, saying: "Imitations, such as the graining of woods, and of the various coloured marbles, [are] allowable only, when the employment of the thing imitated would not have been inconsistent."[890]

Proposition Thirty-six is aimed at Ruskin and all other advocates of historicism. Jones maintains that "The principles discoverable in the works of the past belong to us; not so the results. It is taking the ends for the means."[891] This

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[888]Jones, *Grammar*, p. 7.
[889]Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps*, p. 48.
[890]Jones, *Grammar*, p. 8. Jones used graining in the scheme for Christ Church, Streatham.
[891]*Ibid.*

principle had been a consistent, and major, tenet of Jones's philosophy. The last principle, Proposition Thirty-seven, represents another basic axiom consistent in his position. This principle reads: "No improvement can take place in the Art of the present generation until all classes, Artists, Manufacturers, and the Public, are better educated in Art, and the existence of general principles is more fully recognised."[892]

The principles published in *The Grammar* emphasized the importance of the conventionalization of ornament based on natural or geometric forms [Figures 129-133]. Jones believed that the development of ornament preceded every other form of art and was the result of an innate desire in man to produce forms of beauty which imitated the works of nature. He believed man perceived beauty as well usefulness in his surroundings and that he naturally aspired to "stamp on this earth the impress of an individual mind."[893] Beginning with the tattoos and embellished tools of primitive tribesmen, he began a chronological and hierarchical investigation which lead to the conclusion that "there is scarcely a people, in however early a state of civilisation, [sic] with whom this strong desire does not exist. It is absent in none, and it grows and increases in the ratio of their progress in civilisation."[894] Unfortunately, he found that while the ornament of the savage was "always true to its purpose," in civilized nations the constant repetition of a particular motif diluted the original intention and lead to its misapplication.[895] "And instead of first making the most convenient form, and adding beauty, all beauty is destroyed...by superadding ornament to ill-contrived form."[896] In his opinion, the solution was to

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[892]*Ibid.*
[893]*Ibid.*, p. 14.
[894]*The Builder*, Dec. 20, 1856, p. 682.
[895]Jones, *The Grammar*, p. 16.
[896]*Ibid.*

eliminate the "acquired and artificial" and to return to fitness and the redevelopment of man's natural instincts.[897]

Gombrich reviews the fact that Victorian readers must have been shocked by Jones's first example: a tattooed head from New Zealand in the Museum in Chester [Figure 134].[898] Jones described the head as "very remarkable as showing that in this very barbarous practice [tattooing] the principles of the very highest ornamental art are manifest, every line upon the face is the best adapted to develop the natural features."[899] The head was obviously chosen to demonstrate the concept of man's natural inclination to produce ornament but the figure also served as a dramatic and memorable example of decorated construction. Likewise, Jones analyzed a sample of cloth from Tongatabu [Figure 131, Top Center] concluding that: "nothing can be more judicious than the general arrangement of the four squares and the four red spots. Without the red spots on the yellow ground there would have been a great want of repose in the general arrangement; without the red lines round the red spots to carry the red through the yellow, it would have been still imperfect."[900] He pointed out that the turning inwards of the small red triangles achieved repose, but if they had been turned outward, this harmony would have been lost. In addition, he explained the simplicity of the elements used to create the pattern; these consisted of stamps in the form of triangles and leaves (a diamond shape), leading him to observe that "the possession of a simple tool, even by the most uncultivated, if guided by an instinctive observation of the forms in which all the works of Nature are arranged,

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[897] *Ibid.*

[898] Jones's scholarly and extensive study of ornament extended to the designs of "savages" as exhibited in New Zealand; the recognition of the strengths evident in the embellishments carried out by "primitive" people and the acceptance of common instincts and aims was highly unusual in Victorian Britain where the people of the non-industrialized world were considered backward and uncivilized. I am grateful to Dr. Jessie Poesch for calling my attention to this point. I also appreciate the work of David Morse in this area. See: David Morse, *High Victorian Culture,* New York, New York University Press, 1993, p. 34.

[899] Gombrich, p. 51 and *The Grammar*, p. 13.

[900] *The Grammar*, p. 15 and Gombrich, p. 51.

would lead to the creation of all the geometrical arrangements of form with which we are acquainted."[901] He explains that the most complicated patterns of the Byzantine, Arabian, and Moresque mosaics would be generated by the same means" which leads him to conclude that "the secret of success in all ornament is the production of a broad general effect by the repetition of a few simple elements; variety should rather be sought in the arrangement of the several portions of a design, than in the multiplicity of varied forms."[902]

Jones's identification of the instinct used by the savage to create ornament should not be confused with Ruskin's advice to trust instinct to develop an appropriate color palette or placement of ornament. Jones claimed that the abuse of ornament through the ages had destroyed natural instinct and, therefore, it was necessary to create a body of rules to enable designers to learn the universal principles of good design which had been lost. Jones's elaboration of the methods of conventionalizing ornament and his reiteration of Field's chromatic equivalents were an attempt to produce a guide for contemporary designers.

Although Ruskin referred to Jones's propositions as the "dregs of corrupted knowledge,"[903] Jones's compendium of illustrated ornament and expression of design axioms gained immediate recognition in England and abroad.[904] He outlined the main points of the book in a paper read to the Royal Institute of British Architects on December 15, 1856. Excerpts from this lecture entitled, "On the Leading Principles in the Composition of Ornament in Every Period" were printed in the next two issues of *The Builder*.[905] Accolades and honors followed in 1857 with the receipt of the prestigious Gold Medal of the Royal Institute of British Architects

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[901] *The Grammar*, p. 15 and Gombrich, p. 51

[902] *The Grammar*, p. 15 and Gombrich, p. 52.

[903] Jespersen Dissertation, p. 47.

[904] See Nicolette Gray, "Prophets of the Modern Movement," *Architectural Review* (London), and Nikolaus Pevsner, "Christopher Dresser, Industrial Designer," *Architectural Review* (London), v. 81, 1937, pp. 183-186.

[905] *The Builder*, Dec. 20, 1856, pp. 682-684 and Dec. 27, 1856, pp. 694-696.

in March, the award of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazare by the King of Italy on July 22, and the Order of King Leopold of the Belgians in September. Prosper Mérimée also recommended him for the French Government's Legion of Honour, "but political wrangling prevented the honour from being bestowed."[906]

Even the popular novelist, George Eliot was inspired to write one of her few pieces of non-fiction as a review of Jones's text. She began her assessment by discussing the potential benefits improved surroundings offered to the mental and physical well-being of society and noted that the quickest and easiest way to accomplish improvement was through the redecoration of existing interiors. She noted that "Fine taste in the decoration of interiors is a benefit that spreads from the palace to the clerk's house with one parlor."[907] She continued, by proclaiming: "All honour, then, to the architect who zealously vindicated the claim of internal ornamentation to be a part of the architect's function, and has laboured to rescue that form of art which is most closely connected with the sanctities and pleasures of our hearths from the hands of uncultured tradesmen." She went further insisting that "all the nation ought at present to know that this effort is peculiarly associated with the name of Mr. Owen Jones" and that "one monument of his effort...is his 'Grammar of Ornament.'"[908]

The popularization of Jones's ideas through the success of his designs and the adoption of *The Grammar* in schools of design and architecture all over the globe meant that Jones's principles had an extraordinary distribution and reception.[909]

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[906]Darby Dissertation, p. 363.

[907]George Eliot, Review of *The Grammar of Ornament*, by Owen Jones, *Fortnightly Review*, May 15, 1865. I am grateful to Ronald Lewcock for locating this article in England for me when I was unable to access it in Atlanta.

[908]*Ibid.*, p. 125.

[909]The dissertation on the work of Denman Waldo Ross being prepared by Marie A. Frank contains the following information in Chapter Two: "By 1900 interest in universal design principles had become so ubiquitous that making a direct link between the work of Denman Ross and Owen Jones seems unnecessary. However, Ross did have a direct knowledge of Jones' *Grammar of Ornament* so some comparison seems worthwhile. Ross recommended the *Grammar of Ornament* to his classes at Harvard throughout the period 1899-1910 (if not

The Grammar was in its ninth printing by 1910, and it has been demonstrated as an influence on the work of architects as celebrated as Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright, and LeCorbusier.[910] In studies of interior design, Jones is recognized as a direct influence on individual artists, such as Christopher Dresser, and indirectly on the Arts and Crafts, Art Nouveau, and Aesthetic Movements.[911] In the 1970's and 1980's, new issues of the *The Grammar* were printed by Van Nostrand Reinhold and Portland House; currently, both Jones's *The Grammar of Ornament* and his later text, *The Grammar of Chinese Ornament* are in print.[912]

As a result of the success of the Great Exhibition of 1851, other countries decided to host exhibitions. "Succeeding exhibition buildings either repeated Jones's basic formula (as at New York in 1853) or played safe by using a single tint throughout, and relying solely on the objects to attract the eye, as occurred at Paris

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through the 1920's). Like Jones, Ross welcomed the methods of science to improve current design, and like Jones he hoped to provide a "grammar" for improvement in painting (in both *The Theory of Pure Design*-1907-and in *On Drawing and Painting*-1912-Ross makes reference to the language and grammar of art). There are at least three specific instances of a close parallel in Ross's thought to the work of Owen Jones. First, both argue for the accord of design principles with the laws of nature. Second, both seek an objective basis for design in geometry (Jones, proposition 8). Third, past art should be used to discover principles of design, not for copying (Jones, proposition 36).

Thus, to some extent, Ross serves to carry on the methods established by Jones in mid-century. The difference lies in the extent to which Ross absorbed contemporary investigations in perception (primarily German) that he felt gave universal principles the additional validity of physio-psychology". I am grateful to Marie Frank, A.B.D., University of Virginia, for sharing this information with me from the draft of her dissertation.

[910]As noted earlier, source material includes: J. Kresten Jespersen's dissertation, Ellen Christensen's thesis, and David A. Hanks, *The Decorative Arts of Frank Lloyd Wright,* New York, E.P. Dutton, 1979. See also, *Egyptomania,* ed. by Lynda Muir, p. 468.

[911]Pevsner, "Christopher Dresser, Industrial Designer," pp. 183-186; Marilyn Oliver Hapgood, *Wallpaper and the Artist,* New York, London, Paris, Abbeville Press, 1992; Charlotte Gere and Michael Whiteway's *Nineteenth Century Design,* New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1994; Lara-Vinca Masini, *Art Nouveau,* New York, Arch Cape Press, 1987, and Linda Parry, *the Victoria & Albert Museum's Textile Collection: British Textiles from 1850 to 1900,* New York, Canopy Books, 1993. Gombrich notes that William Morris owned a copy; Gombrich, p. 55.

[912]These earlier editions include: New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1972, and New York, Portland House, 1986. The current editions include: *Grammar of Ornament,* Bestseller Publications and Dover Publications; *Grammar of Chinese Ornament,* Bestseller Publications, Studio Editions, and, *1001 illuminated Initial Letters,* Dover Publications. *Whitaker's Books in Print 1996,* London, J. Whitabker & Sons Ltd., 1996.

in 1855."[913] One clue to Jones's influence on the New York Crystal Palace is the emphasis placed on producing "a style of decoration pleasing from its novelty and from the harmony arising from the use of colour in accordance with the laws of science and the practice of the best masters."[914] Although the colors chosen were not a direct imitation of Jones's earlier scheme, many of his ideas were followed. For example, the first rule adopted for the decoration of the interior: "Decoration should in all cases be subordinate to construction" is Jones's first principle of architecture. Other characteristics of the New York scheme which reflect the influence of Jones include the statement that "the leading feature of beauty in the Crystal Palace [New York] being that of proportion and geometrical harmony rather than elaboration of detail, all ornament introduced should be of the same character, mere geometrical outlines and forms to the exclusion of classical decoration, the characteristic of which is an imitation of the organization of foliage."[915] The recognition of the importance of the effects of color on the impact of the building is evident in the following description of the roof's painting: "The power of blue to give an effect of loftiness to the building was strongly exemplified during the progress of the painting, by comparing one of the naves which had been decorated with another which remained unfinished. The former seemed more than double the height of the latter, althought they were of the same dimensions."[916] Another feature which mirrored Jones's suggestions for the first Crystal Palace was the painting of heraldic shields in the spandrels of the arches.[917]

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[913]Stephen Wildman, "J.G. Crace and the Decoration of the 1862 International Exhibition," *The Craces: Royal Decorators 1768-1899,* ed. by Megan Aldrich, Brighton, The Royal Pavilion Art Gallery, 1990, p. 148.
[914]Margot Gayle, Gretchen Gayle Ellsworth, and Carol Gayle, "The New York Crystal Palace: America's Progress, Power, and Possibilities," *Nineteenth Century,* Vol. 15, I, p. 12.
[915]*The Builder*, Dec. 24, 1853, Vol. XI, No. 568.
[916]*Ibid.*
[917]*The Builder*, May 28, 1853, p. 321.

When England planned its second international exhibition in 1862, members of the profession and the public called for Jones to develop the decorative scheme, exclaiming that Jones knew "more about colour than all the officials of South Kensington put together."[918] The fact that Matthew Digby Wyatt wrote a letter to Cole recommending Jones as the best person to handle the task suggests that Jones wanted the commission, but officials in 'South Kensington' argued that the colours of the Crystal Palace had shown off the building better than its contents and that the much greater areas of solid roof and walling [in the 1862 structure] needed more diversified handling."[919] Stephen Wildman, authority on the 1862 Exhibition, points to the strained relationship between Owen Jones and Henry Cole, as a result of Jones and Wyatt's decision to work on the redesign and re-erection of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham instead of accepting Cole's offers to participate in the development of the museums in South Kensington, as the real reason that Jones was overlooked.[920] Ironically, the man selected to devise the 1862 scheme was John G. Crace, the decorator who tried to unseat Jones in 1851, and always appeared to be "waiting in the wings" to take over Jones's commissions. The decorator ignored the lessons of structural decoration and clarity which Jones had demonstrated and embarked upon "a more elaborate scheme of decoration than any previously used in an exhibition building. Instead of simple architectonic lines of primary colour, he proposed the use of stencilled ornament, gilding and variegated colour."[921]

He placed "Raffaelesque decoration" in rich colors on the timbered roof to engender a non-structural "softness, richness, and glow" to the interior of the building and complemented this scheme with quieter colors below.[922] He selected a

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[918]Wildman, *The Craces,* 149.
[919]*Survey of London*, Vol. XXXVIII, London, Athlone Press, 1975, p.144.
[920]Stephen Wildman, Ph.D., Curator of Prints and Drawings, Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, and authority on the 1862 Exhibition letter to Carol Flores dated June 1, 1995.
[921]*Survey of London*, Vol. XXXVIII, p.144.
[922]The formula developed by Jones for his residential interiors. See Kensington Palace Gardens material in Chapter III.

warm grey for the window surrounds and the color of vellum for the horizontal purlins and the trusses of the roof ribs; the trusses were also trimmed with red and grey piping. The rib decoration incorporated alternate bands of red and blue plus an alternated pattern on each rib of red-blue-red, then blue-red-blue. He also used black-and-white chevrons to edges the ribs and black circles at the intersections of each joint. These patterns were further accented with gold stars and scrollwork.[923] The roof panels received "an upright scroll ornament in red, with gold" and star-like rosettes. The iron columns of the nave were painted pale bronze with vertical gold lines and gilded capitals, on alternate grounds of red and blue. The gallery railings displayed rose, shamrock, and thistle motifs in light bronze with gilding, backed by a deep red cloth. The courts below the galleries were painted maroon with grey ceilings. The picture galleries "were papered and coloured sage green, the cornice vellum-colour with maroon in hollow mouldings, the pale green cove panelled and figured, and the cross-walls panelled in maroon as a background for sculpture."[924] In addition to the wide range of colors, this scheme incorporated many design motifs such as stencils, inscriptions, large medallions painted by art-school students, and the effect of a golden sun emitting gold rays in the center of each of Fowke's domes. The complexity and overall effect was considerably more 'mid-Victorian' than Jones's clear bright colours of 1851.[925]

Although the scheme received generally satisfactory reviews, many critics felt that the individual elements employed by Crace were unsuccessful on a large scale. The decorator proved unable to conceive the cumulative effects of his scheme both vertically and horizontally and unlike Jones, who was confident of his scheme before

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[923]Wildman, "J.G. Crace and the Decoration of the 1862 International Exhibition," p. 150.
[924]*Survey of London*, Vol. XXXVIII, p.144.
[925]Stephen Wildman's chapter entitled "J. G. Crace and the Decoration of the 1862 International Exhibition" in *The Craces: Royal Decorators 1768-1899* provides a brief history of circumsatnces surrougning the planning of the 1862 Exhibition, gives a complete description of Crace's design, and a more comprehensive collection of reviews than the ones quoted here. *The Craces,*: pp. 146-155,

the first brush stroke was made, Crace complained of the difficulty of carrying out his scheme since the scaffolding obscured his view of the structure.[926] The *Athenaeum* reviewed the interior saying: "while the roof itself is delicately bright with pearly grey and tastefully decorated, there is much unreposing character in the doubly counter-charged markings of its ribs. Thus coloured, the markings of the ribs, instead of aiding the long vista of the roof, fritter its effect into a sparkling glitter, where there should be rest for the eye." The writer's description continued: "So strongly are these shortcomings felt that every one acknowledges the unpainted machinery annex to be the most satisfactory part of the edifice, excepting of course the picture galleries, which have been decorated on a wiser principle."[927] Stephen Wildman notes that the most damaging review appeared in *The Critic*; the reviewer for this magazine reported that Crace's pale bronze would be called "dirty green streaked with dirtier yellow" by many persons and described the roof ribs as being painted 'with a *hardiesse* most astounding'. He said these "were painted 'with a perfect harlequinade of crosses, dots, chequers, scrolls, and nondescripts, touching every note on the gamut of colour from black to white, with all the cruelty of a handsome pianist with a prodigious hand and no ear for music.'"[928] This attack continued with the writer asserting that the use of gilding was never 'so out of place and so thrown away as in the National Building'; the blue ground on the entablature beneath the domes 'is uncommonly gaudy, and in vulgar keeping with the red spandrels'; and the effect of the interior domes 'is truly ponderous.'[929]

In addition to the interior decoration, the order and arrangement of the exhibits were also inferior to Jones's work in 1851. Although the painting was

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[926]Crace would have had extreme difficulty in the Crystal Palace at Hyde Park since the laying of the canvas veil was not complete until April 28, three days before the opening of the Exhibition. McKean, *Crystal Palace,* p. 28.
[927]Wildman, "J.G. Crace and the Decoration of the 1862 International Exhibition," p. 153.
[928]*Ibid.*, p. 154.
[929]*Ibid.*

finished, the exhibition arrangements were not complete by the May 1 opening and the displays that were in place drew criticism for yielding such a "conglomeration of telescopes, organs, lighthouses, fountains, obelisks, pickles, furs, stuffs, porcelain, dolls, rocking-horses, alabasters, stearine, and Lady Godiva" that the nave was reduced "to a striking similitude of a traveller's description of Hog-lane, Canton."[930] Apparently the lay-out of the exhibition tended to 'harass and weary' the visitor in marked contrast to the uplifting experience reported by visitors to the 1851 exposition. Within "one week, an eminent London physician had three cases of persons attacked with apoplexy just after they had quitted the building and attributed the attacks to the Exhibition." Dostoyevski described his reaction as "a feeling of fear somehow creeps over you...It is a Biblical sight, something to do with Babylon, some prophecy out of the Apocalypse being fulfilled before your very eyes."[931] Obviously, not all reactions were as strong, but in the end, only five and a quarter million visitors attended this exhibition in the same length of time that six million people viewed the earlier exposition.[932]

The 1862 Exhibition failed to make a profit and acrimonious debates rose over the future of both the building and the site. All of these factors meant that while most Victorians agreed with Macaulay that the year of 1851 was "long to be remembered as a singularly happy year of peace, plenty, good feeling, innocent pleasure and national glory,"[933] due in most part to the efforts and unqualified success of Prince Albert, Cole, Paxton, and Jones, 1862 would be remembered in flawed contrast. In July of the following year, an article in *The Building News* continued to express the professional press's belief that Jones would have done a better job. The reporter wrote:

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[930]*Survey of London*, Vol. XXXVIII, London, Athlone Press, 1975, p.145
[931]*Ibid.*, p. 145.
[932]Both exhibitions opened on May 1st and remained open for five and one-half months.
[933]Geoffrey Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-1875*, p. 520.

> When the late International Exhibition was ready for the decorator's hands, men of taste wondered much why Mr. Owen Jones' services were not secured. Men of little experience--even Captain Fowke himself--made their maiden essays on different bays of the building, and a goodly sum of money and time was fooled away, because they had sufficient influence with the "Department" to be enabled to prove to everybody, except their individual selves, their utter incompetence. The ablest man to do the work was, unfortunately, an architect, and consequently was out of place there, as a nightingale in a rookery; although he had succeeded, beyond all question in the former building in Hyde-park. Spite of his many works--of his being the author of the "Grammar of Ornament," which the intruders do not seem to have possessed sense enough to learn from--he was quietly ignored. Abashed at the failures of the *protégés* of the Department, and at the ridicule they evoked, the task was handed over to, perhaps, the next best man, by the Commissioners. We do not intend any disparagement to Mr. Crace. He...made the best he could of it...but we regretted, nevertheless, that Mr. Owen Jones had not been invited to show what he could do towards the redemption of the building from the bottomless pit into which jobbery had thrust it.[934]

Even if Crace and the 1862 Exhibition had succeeded, Jones's stature as an architect was secure. The projects and publications which he completed after 1851 had continued to increase his status and prominence within the profession and with the public.[935] In addition, his identification with the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park left most people in Britain agreeing with another *Building News* writer who wrote at Jones's death "No one who can conjure up the picture of the first great glass palace in Hyde Park can forget the harmony that pervaded that Exhibition building, how the three primary colours were distributed and balanced over that sea of glass and light, without a tawdry effect, which would have resulted if only one primary had been used, or if a capricious taste had distributed them."[936] Jones's decoration of the Hyde Park Crystal Palace provided the "gilding on the cage" that has been

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[934]*The Building News,* July 3, 1863, p. 504.
[935]An article in *The Building News* dated July 3, 1863, reflects the lingering remop. 504.
[936]"The late Mr. Owen Jones," *The Building News,* April 24, 1874, p. 440.

described as the "historic monument" of his age,[937] "as representative of the nineteenth century as Stonehenge, Ely Cathedral, or the Senate House at Cambridge, are to earlier periods, and, therefore, a commission of the greatest cultural importance to the country."[938]

[937]Morton Shand, "The Crystal Palace as structure and precedent," *Archtiectural Review,* v. 81, 1937, p. 68.
[938]Morton Shand, p. 65.

CHAPTER V

PRACTICING ARCHITECTURE:

"SEE HOW VARYING THE FORMS, AND HOW UNVARYING THE PRINCIPLES"[939]

Owen Jones was not the only nineteenth century architect to call for a new style of architecture, but he was more successful than most in conceiving what a new style required, how it was to be achieved, and in seeing some of his ideas implemented. With his successful achievements in both Crystal Palaces, two of the most important buildings of the time, plus the distribution of his ideas in lectures, in print, and through the media, it is not surprising that Jones received commissions for ambitious private ventures, including the construction of St. James's Concert Hall (1855-1858) and the Palace of the People Muswell Hill (1859).[940] He was also invited to participate in important limited competitions, such as the contests for the design of St. Pancras Station (1865) and for the National Gallery (1867) and his designs for commercial products won awards and recognition for Britain in several international exhibitions. This chapter discusses several of Jones's projects and commissions which further demonstrate his contribution to both the practice and ideology of architecture.

In the eighteen-fifties and sixties, Jones designed unprecedented Palaces-of-the-People and other major entertainment and exhibition complexes. His progressive schemes for this new type of building indicate his ability to provide both

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939 Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament,*

940 *The Building News,* April 24, 1874, p. 440.

the large promenades and areas for congregation and viewing suited to the latest social conventions and to devise solutions to the problems of public safety and convenience. His plans offered places of interest and excitement to a populace captivated by spectacle, the exotic, and social convention. His work differed substantially from his contemporaries in structural, aesthetic, and intellectual intentions and some believe that his proposed work for a permanent exhibition building at St. Cloud, France, would have been "one of the greatest glass buildings of the century" had it been built.[941]

Structurally, he specified iron in permanent facilities while most of his peers remained dependent upon masonry construction. He also incorporated the latest concepts and equipment for lighting and ventilation and confronted complex problems in siting, access, and acoustics. Aesthetically, he experimented with new materials and techniques of ornamentation to achieve magnificent interiors quickly and inexpensively. These unique creations glowing with light, color, and harmonious decoration, transported restrained Londoners, plagued by dismal fogs and Regency monotony, into brilliant environments of grandeur and drama. The success of these extraordinary spaces explains the fact that he is best remembered for his unusual and striking decorative schemes instead of his forward-thinking plans. Intellectually and aesthetically, he advocated a new style of architecture based upon the functions and feelings appropriate to his age, and, as a result, he produced original designs for new types of buildings and handsome compositions for existing structures.

Jones produced schemes for iron and glass exhibition buildings more advanced than Paxton's. One example is his competition entry for the 1857 Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition Building [Figure 135]. This design united the roof and walls in

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[941]Durant, *Ornament*, p. 325.

one continuous, sublime arch springing from ground level.[942] This pure geometric form showed the same confidence, experimentation with exaggerated scale, and refined simplicity found in the visionary projects of the eighteenth-century French architect, Boullée, but, with one major difference: Jones's design was capable of being executed in a timely and affordable manner.

On June 14, 1856, *The Illustrated London News* reported that Jones had won the competition with a design reputed to be "novel, graceful, and eminently what is wanted." Unfortunately, the scheme was not realized, since the competition committee rescinded their decision and named a local architect, Edward Salomans, for the project. This story presents another example of the notorious circumstances surrounding nineteenth-century competitions.

After *The Illustrated London News* announced Jones's victory, *The Manchester Guardian* printed a letter signed "AL" remarking that "it is rumored that several beautiful designs have been sent in, which could not be executed for anything like the money proposed (25,000*l*)."[943] Two days later *The Builder* published the following report of "The Manchester Exhibition Building Competition":

> In answer to the advert of the executive committee for conducting the 'Exhibition of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom in 1857', twenty-five designs were submitted; and in addition, we are told, the committee had before them a design by a firm of operative engineering, sent in before the competition was invited. Our esteemed contemporary, the *Illustrated News*, was premature when it announced last week that the building had been entrusted to Mr. Owen Jones. Mr. Jones had submitted a design, and after receiving a visit from Mr. Deane, the manager, and giving explanations, was taken down to Manchester, and attended the committee. No question of moment, as we understand, was raised, except that of cost; and after some negotiations, the architect set this at rest, as he thought, by the production of a

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[942]I am indebted to Michael Darby for arranging for me to see Jones's interior perspective of this project in September, 1993, when it was in the possession of Hazlitt, Gooden, and Fox Ltd., London. I also appreciate the time and co-operation of Ms. Pippa Mason, a member of the firm, for showing me the watercolor. A good illustration of this design is reproduced in Charlotte Gere and Michael Whiteway's *Nineteenth Century Design,* New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1994, PL. 70, pp. 72-3.

[943]*Manchester Guardian,* June 19, 1856.

> tender from Mr. Kennard, to carry out the design for the sum named by the committee, viz. 25,000*l.* and Mr. Jones returned to his hotel to await the minute of the committee confirming the selection. The minute came but it was to say that after anxious consideration it was found that his design could not be made to suit their wants; but it was hoped that they might have his assistance for the *decoration* of the building, which would be erected, probably, on the plans of the committee, rather than on one of those submitted![944]

The Builder continued saying that "the advertisement issued by the committee was a very vague one" and that "it ought to surprise us that architects of standing were found willing to made [sic] designs on so small assurance, though it does not." They reminded the committee that the competitors had trusted to their honor and acted accordingly, and that the periodical wanted to hear more on this situation.[945] The following week, they announced that the committee had selected Edward Salomans of Manchester and the ironfounders who had contacted them outside of the competition for the project.[946] *The Builder* noted that this firm, Messrs. C. D. Young & Co., "are the perpetuators of the abomination with which the land of the '51 Exhibition Commissioners is now disfigured - the Brompton Boilers."[947] Three weeks later they described the selected design as "a repetition of the three steam-boilers, side by side, with which Brompton is disfigured, with an ornamentation brick 'front' attached to one end."[948]

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[944] *The Builder,* June 21, 1856, p. 344.

[945] *Ibid.*

[946] Michael Darby's notes provide the following chronology taken from the Archives of the Exhibition, Manchester:

> "April 8, 1856, Chas. D. Young & Co. sent sketch, description and estimate of Building.
> June 1st., Chas. D. Young & Co. sent estimate for side roofs.
> June 4th, Chas. D. Young & Co. sent announcing amount of contract.
> June 9th, J. Kennard sent contract for Erection of building designs by Owen Jones.
> June 13th, Owen Jones sent respecting designs and decoration.
> June 16th, Chas. D. Young & Co. sent amount of contract and time of completion.
> June 26th, 21*l.* sent to Owen Jones.
> June 27th, Mrs. Owen Jones sent reply to letter.
> June 30th, Owen Jones sent returning 21*l.* They replied acknowledging."

[947] *The Builder,* June 28, 1856, p. 354.

[948] *Ibid.,* July 19, 1856, p. 398.

Jones sent the following letter to *The Builder* which appeared in the July 5, 1856 issue:

> As a warning to my professional brethren, who might be tempted to engage in competitions where the terms are as ill defined as they have been in the late Manchester competition, I enclose you a letter I have had the honour to receive from the chairman of the executive committee.
>
> I need hardly say that I have declined the proffered gift.
>
> OWEN JONES
>
> The letter says,---
>
> "Sir,--At the last meeting of the general council of this exhibition, it was resolved to acknowledge with some mark of the council's approbation such of the designs for the exhibition building as, either from the genius of their conception, their artistic merit, or their approach to meet the full requirements of the contemplated art treasure display, should, in the opinion of the executive committee, merit such a distinction.
>
> It is gratifying to me to inform you that the design submitted by you was amongst the limited number so selected; and in tendering the enclosed draft as a slight compensation for the labour and expense which have benn bestowed on your plans, the committee trust that you receive their acknowledgement of the ability displayed in your suggestions, and their thanks for the interest you have evinced in the success of the undertaking.
>
> I am, sir, &c.
>
> (Signed) THOS. FAIRBAIRN
>
> Chairman of the Executive Committee."
>
> *The draft enclosed was for twenty-one pounds.*[949]

The Builder also printed their own comment that "the design determined on was submitted to H. R. H. Prince Albert on Wednesday, the 2nd" and that "there appears to be some mystification as to its authorship."[950] Jones refused to participate in the decoration of the building and, as usual, Crace was available to replace him.[951] Jones lectured at the Exhibition, however, discussing the "Textile Art" in a talk reprinted later in *Textile Fabrics*, edited by J. B. Waring with essays

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[949] *Ibid.*, July 5, 1856, p. 374.
[950] *Ibid.*, p. 374.
[951] *Ibid.*, May 30, 1857, p. 311.

by Owen Jones and Matthew Digby Wyatt.[952] In addition, Michael Darby suggests that Jones's design may have inspired Barlow's train shed at St. Pancras.[953]

Jones exhibited his Manchester entry the following year to mixed reviews. The critic for *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* found the design "novel, but not prepossessing"[954] and *The Builder's* reporter found no art in the scheme and seemed shocked that Jones had submitted uncharacteristic drawings with "just so much design (except in the polychromy) as might be produced by the industrious turning in of semi-circles."[955] This reviewer also interpreted the vast scale of the project as unproductive space and thought the lighting would be unsatisfactory since Jones was relying on glass panels placed at intervals along the apex of the roof and in the ends of the building as the only sources of external light.[956]

In 1873, Matthew Digby Wyatt recalled Jones's Manchester competition entry as one of the only successful exhibition building designs and suggested that it serve as the model for future.[957] The next year an exhibition of Jones's own work was mounted following his death. In reviewing this exhibit, *The Building News* recognized the deceased architect's "boldness and originality" in the Manchester scheme. The reviewer also noted that at a time when "iron and glass were new and untried materials of which our architects and decorators were almost afraid, in the

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952John Burley Waring, ed., with essays by Owen Jones and Matthew Digby Wyatt, *Textile Fabrics*, London, Day and Son, also published as *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom*, London, Day and Son, 1858.

953Darby, Michael and David Van Zanten, Ph.D., "Owen Jones's Iron Buildings of the 1850s," *Architectura.*, 1974, p. 59.

954*The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal,* vol. XX., p. 6.

955*The Builder,* January 10, 1857, p.22.

956Actually Benson's design for the Art Exhibition of 1852 which incorporated glass panels in a vaulted wooden ceiling had been praised for facilitating lighting superior to that found in the art galleries since all of the paintings received adequate light. See *The Illustrated London News,* June 19, 1852, pp. 495-7.

957Darby Dissertation, p. 381.

hands of the late Mr. Jones these rich products of our country's mineral wealth were transformed into sparkling forms irradiated with the varied hues of the rainbow."[958]

At the same time that Jones was producing his Manchester competition entry, he was preparing plans for another type of entertainment complex introduced in the nineteenth century: the large concert facility. Fortunately, Jones's designs for St. James's Hall (1858-1905) were executed, producing the building which remained London's principal concert chamber for nearly half a century.[959] As such, St. James's Hall is also important as an illustration of the cultural and social context of Victorian London.[960] William Chappell launched the "Monday Popular Concerts" of classical chamber music in St. James's Hall in February 1859 and the success of this Monday, and later Monday evening and Saturday afternoon, series became the center of musical life in the metropolis.[961] The concerts have been immortalized by W. S. Gilbert in *The Mikado* (1885) as the "Classical Monday Pops" and are considered "among the most influential events of the 19th century in their popularization of many musical genres."[962] In addition, the most distinguished international artists and *virtuosi* performed in the hall, including Anton Rubinstein, Liszt, and Paderewski.[963] Dvorak, Grieg, and Tchaikovsky appeared as Guest Conductors."[964] St. James's Hall also functioned successfully as host to countless banquets, social benefits, and as the weekly home to the large audiences who

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958*The Building News*, July 10, 1874, p. 51.

959*Survey of London*, Vol. XXXII, p. 59.

960This structure remained in operation until February, 1905, when it was demolished to make way for Norman Shaw's Piccadilly Hotel. The hotel is now called Le Meridien. *Survey of London*, Vol. XXXII, p. 59.

961Andrew Goodman, *Gilbert and Sullivan's London*, Spellmount Ltd., Turnbridge Wells, 1988, p. 76.

962Stanley Sadie, editor, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, MacMillan, 1980, p. 195.

963*Ibid.*, p. 195 and Robert Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London*, London, Edward Arnold, 1955, p. 153-4.

964*Ibid.*, p. 152.

attended the public readings given by Charles Dickens and the lively musical performances of the black-faced Christy Minstrels.[965]

The detailed discussion of the history of the building of St. James's Hall begins early in the century, when the growing importance and popularity of music prompted the construction of many concert halls to accommodate the larger orchestras and choruses required to perform the works of Wagner and other contemporary composers and to accommodate the crowds desirous of commemorating the works of Handel, Beethoven, Mozart, and other classic composers.[966] Large concert facilities were erected in Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Bradford, and Leeds by mid-century, leaving London far behind with its insufficient arrangements for symphonic performances, lectures, and public meetings.[967] To address this need, the music publishers, William Chappell and Thomas Frederick Beale, the conductor (Sir) Julius Benedict, and the violinist, John Ella, formed the Provisional Committee for the St. James's Hall Company, a limited corporation to finance the construction of a concert hall to satisfy "the growing taste for Musical Performances of a high order, and upon an extensive scale" in the West End of London.[968] The selection of Jones as the architect for this project is understandable since he had long associations with Chappell and others involved with music.[969]

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[965]Goodman, *Gilbert and Sullivan's London*, p. 76-77. Dickens gave his last reading on March 25, 1870, in St. James's Hall. Source: display of Dickens' artifacts, Dickens' House, 48 Doughty Street, London, observed by author on a visit to Dickens' House, January 27, 1995.

[966]Fergusson, *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture*, Murray, London, 1862, p. 472.

[967]Hermione Hobhouse, *History of Regent Street*, London, Macdonald and Jane's Ltd., 1975, p. 84 and *The Art-Journal*, March 1, 1858, p. 94.

[968]Prospectus, *Illustrated London News*, vol. 29, July 19, 1856, p. 69.

[969]The Trustees of the Company were The Right Honourable the Earl Granville and Henry Bingham Baring, Esq., M.P and the Provisional Committee included Jules Benedict, Esq., 2 Manchester-square; Thomas Frederick Beale, Esq., 201, Regent-street; William Chappell, Esq., F.S.A., 201, Regent-street; John Ella, Esq., 63 Welbeck-street; Frederick C. Leader, Esq., 63 New Bond-street, and George Smith, Esq., 57, Conduit-street. Four thousand shares at ten pounds per share were offered to the public in 1856. *Illustrated London News*, Volume 29, July 19, 1856, p. 69.

The site selected for St. James's Hall required squeezing a large public facility into the restricted space behind buildings lining the southern side of the Regent Street Quadrant and those on the northern side of Piccadilly Street [Figure 136].[970] This arrangement denied Jones the opportunity to make a dramatic exterior statement and forced him to produce a rectangular building 140 feet in length by 75 feet in width, plus adjacent smaller buildings for the public entrances and rooms for the orchestra and equipment. The principal rooms comprised three concert halls, plus a private entrance and accommodations for the Queen [Figure 137]. Two public rooms on the ground floor [60 feet by 60 feet by 24 feet and 60 feet by 55 feet by 24 feet], functioned as spaces for small concerts, banquets, and meetings. The eastern room was cruciform and contained galleries in the east, north, and southern arms. The rectangular western room had accommodations for an orchestra. The premier concert space, measuring 60 feet by 136 feet by 60 feet, occupied the level above. This room had 38 foot arches at each end, creating room for the back stalls and a gallery in the eastern end and space for an orchestra, choir seating, and a huge organ in the western apse.[971] Gallery seating was provided along the long side walls in front of the piers which divided the walls into eight bays [Figure 138].

Public entrances from Piccadilly and Regent Streets were created by demolishing shops at 73 Regent Street and a house at 28 Piccadilly. At the time,

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[970]The site had originally been selected in 1852 by Messrs. Allison, music publishers located at 28 Piccadilly, who planned to demolish workshops and other buildings behind their premises to erect "a large music room" from the designs of W. A. Boulnois. "Plans and elevations were submitted to the Commissioners for Woods and Forests because the site was Crown property, and an agreement drawn up in June 1853." The architect, Charles Moreing of No. 14 Regent Street took over the Allison's premises in 1853 and also acquired adjacent houses in Vine Street and George Court (now Piccadilly Place). "In 1855 he was negotiating to sell his interest to the St. James Hall Company." *Survey of London*, Vol. XXXII, **p. 59.** Michael Darby reports that Jones had produced his plans for St. James's Hall prior to August 24, 1855, since Moreing wrote to the Rt. Hon. Charles Gore on that day regarding his desire to call on the Commissioners with Jones to discuss the application for building permission. Darby Dissertation, pp. 368-369.

[971]This organ, manufactured by Gray and Davidson, had "pipes in the form of Egyptian columns" which Michael Darby notes were "no doubt designed by Jones." *Ibid.*, p. 375.

adequate arrangements for ingress and egress presented a major concern to both the public and the press, due to the death of six people and the injury of many others in a panic in the Surrey Music-Hall in 1856 and further deaths and injuries in other public buildings with insufficient exits and poorly designed stairs and corridors. Although the exhibition of the proposed plans for St. James's Hall drew *The Builder's* characteristic scrutiny and exhortation over inadequate entrances and corridors to handle the size of the audiences and the number of performers anticipated,[972] the *Illustrated London News* praised the four entrances and five exits when the building opened as supplying "unequalled facilities for visitors arriving and leaving the hall" and suggesting "the pleasant idea of safety" through their spaciousness.[973] *The Art-Journal* also considered all of the access arrangements, including the staircases, and lobbies worthy of "unqualified approbation" and proposed that they serve as "a model" for other public structures.[974] The area of the main staircase was approximately 24 feet by 16 feet with landings covered with six inch slabs of Yorkshire stone from the Park Spring quarries. The steps, projecting five and a half feet from the wall, were surfaced with Yorkshire stone and, like the landings, received support from both the exterior walls and from wrought-iron girders.[975]

The site presented another major problem, since the soil contained quicksand. This problem was solved by mixing blue lias cement with the gravel found at the site to form a concrete base. A foundation of this material five feet deep and eight feet

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[972] *The Builder* criticized the narrowness of the treads adjacent to the hand-rails in the Surrey Music-Hall and called for an alteration in the design of these stairs to avoid future accidents (*The Builder,* July 19, 1856, p. 396); unfortunately, the changes were not made and witnesses later identified the stairs as the cause of the disaster in which many people were injured and six people died. See *The Builder,* Oct. 25, 1856., p. 581.

For more information on St. James's Hall, see *The Builder,* Oct. 18, 1856, p. 571 and *The Builder,* March 13, 1858, p. 171.

[973] *Illustrated London News,* April 3, 1858, p. 343.

[974] *The Art-Journal,* March 1, 1858, p. 94.

[975] *The Building News,* Nov. 6, 1857, p. 1171.

wide stabilized the ground under the exterior walls; these walls measured three feet expanding to three feet nine inches in the piers on the sides and four feet six inches on the ends. The unanticipated expense of this foundation increased the total cost for the project to 50,000*L*.[976]

The last site problem concerned the Crown's ownership of the property, necessitating the review and approval of Jones's plans by James Pennethorne and the Crown Commissioners. Jones submitted plans and sections for the concert facility on November 5, 1855, but the approval was withheld until February 1857.[977] Pennethorne found Jones's proposed internal decorations "handsome," but felt that the intended height of the building would be "detrimental to all the neighborhood." He, therefore, insisted "that the top of the parapet should be reduced to a level not exceeding 63 feet above the level of the foot pavement in Vine Street." Disagreement over this alteration continued until July 1856 when Pennethorne reported that the company "have at last agreed to the height being reduced" [Figure 139].[978] The final agreement between the Commissioners and the Company received the approval of the House of Lords on January 9, 1857, and was forwarded to the Company on March 4.[979] The contractors, the Messrs. Lucas of Belvedere Road, Lambeth, began construction as soon as the plans were agreed upon.[980] By February 27, 1857, *The Building News* was able to inform its readers that "the greater portion of the

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[976]*Ibid.* The original estimates projected a total cost of *L*40,000. See *Illustrated London News*, v. 29, July 19, 1856, p. 69.

[977]Michael Darby points out that Jones had completed the drawings by August 24, 1855, since correspondence from Moreing to the Rt. Hon. Charles Gore suggests a meeting between Jones, Moreing, and the Commissioners to suggest the application for the building. He also notes that *The Builder* published three of Jones's drawings for the project in October 1855 and that the architect exhibited an interior view of the proposed hall in the Architectural Exhibition held that winter. Dr. Darby suggests that this premature publication effort may have been undertaken to hasten the progress of the negotiations between the Company and the Commissioners. Darby Dissertation, p. 369-370.

[978]*Ibid.*

[979]*Ibid.*, p. 370.

[980]Messrs. Lucas were also building the new Italian Opera House at the same time; it was scheduled to open May 15, 1851, *The Illustrated London News,* April 10, 1858, p. 369.

western side of George Court, and a part of the southern side of Little Vine Street have been pulled down, and the debris is being cleared away in preparation for putting in the foundation."[981]

On November 6, 1857, *The Building News* identified St. James's Hall as one of the largest facilities under construction in the West End and pointed to "several important constructive features" in Jones's design as "well worthy of careful attention."[982] These included the provision of spacious vaults under the structure and in particular, Jones's innovative application of wrought iron for structural support throughout the building. Jones used 2' 5" wrought-iron girders supported by eight cast-iron columns to brace the floor of the great hall. Smaller girders and trimming 12 inches deep joined the principal girders diagonally to form the horizontal truss under the floor. The floors of the galleries and the steps of the staircases also relied upon wrought-iron for support. In addition, the semicircular roof consisted of large ribs of wrought-iron placed 11 feet 9 inches apart [Figure 140]. These ribs of 3/8" to 1/2" thick web-iron measured 2' 9" deep at the crown of the arch and narrowed to 1' 8" at the springing. Their angles at the outer edge measured 4 inches by 4 inches and were five-eighths of an inch thick; at the inner edges, the angles measured 3 inches by 3 inches and half-an-inch thick.[983] Diagonal braces of T iron 6 inches by 4 inches and longitudinal ties of T iron were used to stiffen the main ribs. The stanchions, or standards, were built into the walls to provide support for the principal ribs of the roof. These mainstays stretched from 2 feet below the floor of the great hall to the springing of the iron ribs and were secured to bases of York stones, 5' by 3' 9" in width and 1' 6" in depth, with bolts, plates, and T iron struts. "Wrought-iron tying-down bars" were placed near the surfaces of the outer and inner walls. These bars, of 6" by 4" thick T iron with two plates 6" by 3/8"

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[981] *The Building News*, Feb. 27, 1857, p. 209.
[982] *Ibid.*, p. 1171.
[983] Messrs. Kennard executed the ironwork for Messrs. Lucas. *Ibid.*

riveted on table, were secured at the base to two York stones placed on top of the concrete foundation.[984] The galleries were carried on wrought-iron cantilevers which projected 8' from the stanchions at a height 10' above the base of each stanchion.

Other materials noted in *The Building News* included the roof timbers and the 1/2" layer of "genuine asphalte" applied to the walls by Messrs. Orsi and Armani to prevent dampness rising above the ground.[985] The article also projected the use of over one and a half million bricks in the construction of the walls and commended the use of yellow and red bricks already apparent in "an agreeable mixture" on the exterior. The yellow bricks surfaced the wall and the red bricks encircled the windows. Stringcourses, determined to be of "very good effect," incorporated yellow brick projections in a type of dentil on a ground of red bricks, placed beneath another strip of red bricks. In addition, the pillars between the windows were topped with projected bands of Portland stone.[986]

The Clerk of the Works for the project, a Mr. Purchase, was under the direct supervision of Jones.[987] Construction progressed rapidly with most of the roof in place by January 1, 1858, and the entrance in Piccadilly almost complete at that time [Figure 141]. *The Building News* discussed the entry saying that it "exhibits unmistakable features of Alhambran architecture, in the development of which Mr. Jones, the architect, is so justly famed," but observed that it also had "the additional charm of the introduction of sculptured human forms" not permissable in Islamic structures.[988] The entrance was comprised of "a large semicircular headed arch,

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[984]These stones measured 5' by 2' 6" wide and were 1' 6" thick. *Ibid.*

[985]The timbers planned for the roof were reported as: "The principals, 9 inches by 6 inches; the common rafters, 8 inches by 2 inches; purlins, 12 inches by 7 inches; and the wall-plate, 12 inches by 4 inches. The slating is to be laid on three-quarter inch boarding. The ceiling joists will vary in size from 7 inches by 2 1/2 inches to 6 1/2 inches by 3 1/2 inches." *Ibid.*

[986]*Ibid.*

[987]*Ibid.*

[988]*Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1858, p. 18.

recessed within which, on the ground story, are two square-headed doorways, over which are two stories lighted by round-headed windows, the whole being surmounted by a large enriched cornice." The tympanum over the upper windows contained stucco decoration in *alto-relievo* depicting cupids surrounding a female figure playing a lyre. Similar sculptural ornament, featuring putti playing musical instruments, was used in the decorative frieze situated between the upper and lower windows. The name of the hall was announced in bold, ornamental letters above the doors on the ground floor. An elaborate frieze and column capitals above the doors completed the decoration.[989]

On March 1, *The Art-Journal* remarked on the rapid pace of construction of the building and described the structure as one "which cannot fail to command admiration as well as to excite surprise."[990] Twelve days later, *The Builder* also printed a positive review and, similar to *The Building News's* earlier report, noted the "novelties of construction deserving of attention, and which may require to be referred to hereafter, should they be found to belong to the commencement of an alteration in the current practice of building." In particular, the article referred to "the use of iron, less as an auxiliary than as a main element in the framework of a structure." The writer observed that although the value of iron "for bridging over large spans and for bearing heavy weights on small area [sic] of support" had become apparent, the material had not been adopted as the major structural material in conventional buildings. For this reason, they believed that Jones's structural use of iron in a prominent public building could be the precedent for future architectural projects.[991]

This article confirmed the information reported earlier in *The Building News,* emphasizing the unusual construction and individual elements, including the

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[989] *Ibid.*
[990] *The Art-Journal,* March 1, 1858, p. 94.
[991] *The Builder,* March 13, 1858, p. 171.

connections and braces which gave integrity and strength to the fabrication. The brickwork in the three foot thick walls was described simply as "in-fill" between the iron piers and the I form standards of the framework. Other components noted include the iron ribs which eliminated the need for an elaborate truss to span the sixty foot width of the hall and the development of straight lintels which replaced traditional rounded arches over the windows. These lintels comprised four courses of bricks placed in an upright position over each opening. These bricks were set in cement and reinforced with hoop iron; the first brick at each end was placed within the wall configuration, adding strength and stability to the lintels. Other features of the windows involved reveals of 9 inches and steeply sloped stone sills to improve the effects of weathering. This account also mentioned that the building had many other "provisions and contrivances deserving attention."[992]

Jones used models of the building to conduct experiments with ventilation. His final arrangement consisted of four pairs of zinc air shafts which linked apertures in the roof to openings in the ceiling of the concert hall. Outside air descended through 33" diameter zinc tubes, and entered the great hall through panels of ornamental fretwork. At the same time, the interior heated air rose through the perforated panels and escaped up the tubes. Reports on the pleasant coolness of the concert facility are probably indebted to this system.[993] The success of this system is supported by the fact that Jones used similar procedures for ventilation in later buildings.[994]

For lighting, he replaced the massive, isolated chandeliers normally used to illuminate large spaces with a profusion of smaller, star-shaped gaseliers [Figure 142]. By suspending these new stellar fixtures on slender tubes from the intersections of the main ribs of the ceiling, light was diffused uniformly throughout

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[992] *Ibid.*, p. 171.
[993] *Illustrated London News*, April 3, 1858, p. 343.
[994] Darby Dissertation, p. 373.

the hall and the ceiling decoration was shown to advantage. The gilding used on the ceiling reflected the artificial light, creating an unaccustomed effect of beauty and brilliance which gained immediate popularity with other architects and the public.[995] The success of this installation was endorsed by Joseph Gwilt, who cited St. James's Hall as an "admirable illustration of stellar lighting" in the 1867 edition of his *Encyclopedia*.[996]

At the opening of St. James's Hall,[997] the *Illustrated London News* proclaimed the new concert forum "the most superb music hall in the metropolis."[998] *The Builder* compared the new facility to the larger Exeter Hall and the Music-Hall in Surrey Gardens and praised Jones's work for achieving a loftiness which fostered a "grand and imposing aspect" lacking in both its predecessors.[999] This loftiness was also credited for assisting in the improved ventilation of the hall and for keeping the concert facility at a pleasant temperature.[1000] In describing the interior, the *Illustrated London News* announced that "Nothing can exceed the beauty of the decorations; they are at once rich, chaste, and delicate. A pale blue is the prevalent colour, and its effect is to give the light which streams from innumerable burners hung from the vaulted roof, the clearness and mildness of the light of day."[1001]

995One example of the use of these fixtures after Jones introduced them in St. James's Hall occurs in St. George's Hall, Liverpool.

996Wyatt Papworth's revised edition of Joseph Gwilt's *The Encyclopedia of Architecture* (1842, 1867), New York, Bonanza Books, 1982, p. 690.

997 The hall opened on March 25, 1858, with a to benefit Middlesex Hospital. *Illustrated London News*, April 3, 1858, p. 343.

998*Ibid.*

999It is interesting to note that the principal space in the Surrey Music-Hall was actually taller than the concert room in St. James's Hall, at 77 feet compared to 60 feet. The fact that viewers perceived Jones's facility to be taller suggests the effects of his decorative scheme which may have repeated the successful illusion of the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park (1851) described as appearing taller and longer due to Jones's polychromatic arrangement. For the Surrey Music-Hall dimensions, see *The Builder*, July 19, 1856, p. 396.

1000*Illustrated London News*, April 3, 1858, p. 343.

1001*Ibid.*

The Building News also praised the new facility, noting the 350 tons of iron used in substitution of conventional buttresses and horizontal floor bracings, and declaring the interior of the grand hall "a great success...accomplished by the most simple means, and without an excessive expenditure."[1002] *The Builder* concurred saying "The decoration of the ceiling is effective and beautiful, and withal not expensive which should always be considered in settling the amount of praise to be given an architect."[1003]

This praise is significant in demonstrating Jones's proficiency for introducing new materials and techniques in order to deliver magnificent results both quickly and economically. One material that he popularized was a fibrous plaster patented by Desachy.[1004] He used this substance for the model of St. James's Hall and for much of the interior ornamentation.[1005] Gwilt described this product in his *Encyclopedia of Architecture* as being "formed of a thin coat of plaster of Paris, run upon a backing of coarse canvas" and said "it is of great lightness, not inflammable, and is ready to be painted immediately after it is made." He continued by explaining that the plaster was "adapted for the speedy and economical production of any coffered or circular work; and for wagon-headed ceilings, as but little bracketing is necessary, it being fixed to the joists direct" and that it was also intended "for fluted or ornamental columns, panelled dadoes, &c., for the lining of walls and ceilings, and for all purposes of ornamental plaster work." He concluded by stating that "Mr. Owen Jones has extensively used this material for his interior decorations."[1006]

[1002]*The Building News,* March 19, 1858, p. 290.
[1003]*The Builder,* April 24, 1858, p. 282.
[1004]*Illustrated London News,* Nov. 6, 1858, p. 442.
[1005]One description of Desachy's fibrous plaster explains that a full-sized statue of the Venus of Milo executed by the ordinary process of plaster casting would weigh around 320 lb. where the same statue produced by Desachy's process would weigh only 20-25 lb. *Illustrated London News,* Nov. 6, 1858, p. 442.
[1006]Gwilt, *Encyclopedia of Architecture, p. 679,* #2251.

The Builder's account of the construction and finishing of St. James's Hall indicates the uncommon use of another material: "Remembering the fact that the decorators were at work painting and gilding the upper part of the domed recess for the orchestra [Figure 143], while the plasterers were finishing the lower part, it may be useful to record that the material used throughout the hall was Martin's cement as manufactured by Stevens, in order that, noting hereafter how the colour stands, the occurrence may be accepted as an experience."[1007] Gwilt categorized Martin's cement as a type of plaster used for interior embellishments which was fireproof, durable, and somewhat moisture resistant. This type of plaster was available in three grades, from coarse to superfine. All grades could be painted within twenty hours of being applied to old brickwork or twelve hours when applied on lathed work.[1008]

Like many of his associates, Jones relied on the work of dependable craftsmen for successive projects. Raffaelle Monti, the sculptor, and James Skeate, a decorative painter, had assisted Jones in carrying out the decorations for the Crystal Palace at Sydenham. Jones engaged both men for the new concert hall in Piccadilly. Monti modelled the sculptural forms for the interior and exterior and Skeate achieved the ceiling painting in less than a month. The dampness of Britain created difficult problems in architectural embellishment and the problems encountered with attempts to produce frescoes in the Houses of Parliament are well known. Many buildings, churches in particular, were left unpainted for several years after construction to reduce problems from moisture. Jones, A.W.N. Pugin, and others sometimes resorted to having their designs painted on paper and then pasted in place in order to complete a project.[1009] This method was used in the ceiling of St.

1007 *The Builder,* April 24, 1858, p. 282

1008Gwilt, *Encyclopedia of Architecture, p. 680, #2251d.*

1009Pugin used this technique in his "perfect Cheadle" (St. Giles, Cheadle).

James's Hall; Skeate stencilled Jones's pattern in oil, producing a washable, immediate, and economical alternative to painted plaster.[1010]

The ceiling elaboration served as the focal point for the decorative scheme in the grand concert room. Ribs of fibrous plaster divided the semicircular vault diagonally and intersected each other to form eighty lozenge-shaped panels [Figures 144A and B]. These panels were further sub-divided by lesser ribs creating smaller lozenges.[1011] The effect was described as a "moulded roof of great beauty, even without the aid of colour";[1012] however, Jones, once again, proved himself a master of pattern and polychromy by producing "a rich glow of contrasted color and gilding."[1013] Jones confined the color scheme to his preferred primaries, painting the ground of the large lozenges blue and filling them with a "complex and beautiful design, of subdued white."[1014] Smaller panels, conforming to the same shape, were placed on top of the larger forms. Some of these were described as being "filled with peculiarly Alhambran enrichment in alto-relievo, gilded on a red ground."[1015] Other panels constituted the perforated openings for the ventilation system. As usual, Jones substituted gold for yellow, applying the gilding "only to the enrichments in relief, and the most prominent members of the rib mouldings." *The Builder* considered the result of the applied gilding to be "well beyond what could have been anticipated"[1016] and others described the overall effect to be a "fairy-like webbing of color, that produces a most charming effect,...and by contrast of colors a perfect harmony."[1017]

[1010]*The Builder,* March 13, 1858, p. 171.
[1011]The apses repeated the lozenge-shaped divisions; ribs fanned out from the center of each crown, resulting in panels which diminished in size depending upon their proximity to the crown. Darby Dissertation, p. 375.
[1012]*The Building News,* March 19, 1858, p. 290.
[1013]*Ibid.*
[1014]*Ibid.*
[1015]*Ibid.*
[1016]*The Builder,* April 24, 1858, p. 282.
[1017]*The Building News,* March 19, 1858, p. 290.

The principal ceiling ribs joined palmette-topped tall colonettes on the side walls to form eight bays terminated with a pointed arch [Figure 144B]. The area beneath each arch contained putti holding scrolls inscribed with the names of eminent composers, including Mozart, Handel, Beethoven, Haydn, and Purcell.[1018] One critic denounced these figures, by Monti, for being "coarsely modelled" and for the "natural" coloration which marred an "otherwise harmonious effect."[1019] Each bay also contained a tall, arched recess, bordered with 'flowering scroll ornaments, on a ground of orange-chrome yellow'. Within the arch, a "Florentine" window with two lights was crowned with gilded foliated ornament praised by *the Builder* for its exceptional beauty.[1020]

The slender colonettes stretched from the ceiling to the geometically-figured pine floor. The wrought-iron supports for the galleries were cantilevered from these posts. A gilded iron railing in a simple geometric pattern formed the front of the galleries. This rail was backed with red cloth in the manner of decoration Jones used in the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park. Some patrons found the railing too plain and regretted that Jones had not applied more "art" in its execution, but most accounts were laudatory.

Even *Punch* was positive about the building and an excerpt from this satirical publication is reprinted here to indicate the importance of the structure at the time within the popular culture and to reinforce the issue of accessibility previously discussed. On April 3, 1858, *Punch* reported that:

> ST. JAMES'S HALL opened the other evening, by several doors, having been provided with ample means of ingress and egress, so that the public will be enabled to walk into it with ease, and to escape from it with expedition in case it should ever catch fire. That this new music-hall should be burnt down, however, would be lamentable; for it is really a magnificent one; vast in

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[1018] *Ibid.* and the *Survey of London,* Vol. XXXII, p. 59.
[1019] *The Builder,* April 24, 1858, p. 282.
[1020] *Ibid.*

dimensions, elegant in proportions, splendid in decoration. Its opening took place with a concert; when, according to our fashionable contemporary:--

"It was honoured by the presence of H. R. H. the PRINCE CONSORT, a large number of our aristocracy, and a very numerous general company, belonging for the most part to the better classes of society."

The word 'better' in the above passage appears to be used in its primary sense, and not as merely meaning better dressed and better off. For, in the next sentence, we are informed that:--

"The grand inaugurative Concert, got up under the able direction of MR. BENEDICT, was of a sacred character, and devoted entirely to a charitable purpose.

By the better classes to which belonged those persons who, conjointly with the PRINCE CONSORT and a number of the aristocracy, honoured St. James's Hall, we are therefore to understand the more devout and charitable portion of the public. To exercise charity in going to hear sacred music is to do the sort of thing that might be expected of those classes which excel the rest of the community in goodness, and may therefore accurately be styled better. Such people also may, perhaps, without entire absurdity, be said to honour bricks and mortar with their presence.[1021]

Reports on the building's acoustics are mixed. Positive remarks include the "eminent critic" J. A. Fuller-Maitland's reference to "the beautiful acoustics of the great hall" and Helen Henschel, daughter of the conductor Sir George Henschel, saying that she did "not suppose that any concert hall has existed with more perfect acoustics, and I wonder if it can be entirely imagination that endows it with a unique atmosphere of intimacy and charm, a warmth of welcome to those who came there to make music and to listen to it."[1022] *The Building News* also reported that musicians considered the hall "a very successful effort towards an acoustical building, and one of the finest proportioned music-halls in Europe."[1023] Audiences sometimes complained, however, of hearing strains from the banjo-playing Christy

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[1021]*Punch*, v. 34, April 3, 1858, p. 133. Prince Albert, the Prince Consort, also attended the opening of other buildings planned or decorated by Jones. These include his notable appearance prior to the opening of the Langham Hotel and both of the Crystal Palaces.
[1022]Elkin, p. 155.
[1023]*The Building News*, April 24, 1874, p. 440.

Minstrels on the lower level.[1024] Acoustical arrangements were fairly primitive in the nineteenth-century, but Jones made an effort to improve the acoustics in the concert hall by covering the interior walls with pitch before plastering and placing a layer of felt between the sub-floor of 3/4" deal and the finished pine surface [Figure 145].[1025]

Mixed reviews were also given to the location of a fine restaurant in front of the hall on Regent Street. Michael Darby reports that The St. James's Hall Company acquired the leases to Nos. 69, 71, and 73 Regent Street in 1857 allowing them to replace the restaurant indicated in Jones's original plans with a large first class establishment.[1026] Some applauded the innovation of co-locating a first-class restaurant adjacent to a concert hall to provide full dining service, catering facilities, and refreshments both before and after performances. Others rejected this arrangement, complaining of the presence of cooking odors.[1027] Since the Victorians seemed to take particular exception to the smell of cooking, it is difficult at this point to ascertain whether a problem of any consequence existed.

Despite these complaints, St. James's Hall is reported as serving its audiences of over two thousand people well until closing in February, 1905, to accommodate the building of the Piccadilly Hotel on the site.[1028] Many, such as Sir George Henschel mourned the loss of "dear old St. James's Hall,"[1029] but the best tribute may have come from Jones's pupil, Christopher Dresser, who described his response to the building in 1862, saying, "When in St. James's Hall we appear transported to some fairer world - art is here."[1030]

[1024]Myles B. Foster, *The History of the Philharmonic Society of London 1813-1912,* London, John Lane, 1912, p. 268 and Elkin, p. 150.
[1025]*The Building News,* Nov. 6, 1857, p. 1171.
[1026]Darby dissertation, p. 370.
[1027]Foster, p. 268 and Elkin, p. 150.
[1028]*Survey of London,* Vol. XXXII, p. 59.
[1029]Elkin, p. 155.
[1030]Darby Dissertation, p. 378.

Ruskin must have abhorred the concert facility, but remained unusually quiet. After all, Jones had produced a thoroughly modern building and in so doing had enacted several transgressions against Ruskin's "principles of architecture." First, Jones used iron for structural support, placing the structure outside of the realm of architecture, according to Ruskin.[1031] Second, Jones used Desachy's cast plaster in place of wooden beams to save cost, time, and labor; this represented deception to Ruskin, and worse, exemplified the problem he identified at the very core of modern architecture: the desire "to produce the largest results at the least cost."[1032] In short, Jones had acted in direct violation of Ruskin's Lamp, or Spirit, of Sacrifice. Ruskin defined that Spirit as the predilection to prefer precious things because they were precious and not because they were useful or necessary. He explained that the Spirit of Sacrifice involved choosing the costlier of two equally beautiful marbles, simply because the one selected was more expensive; likewise, a choice between two equally beautiful items would be settled by selecting the more elaborate decoration, "in order that it might in the same compass present more cost and more thought." He described this Spirit as "most unreasoning and enthusiastic, and perhaps best negatively defined, as the opposite of the prevalent feeling of modern times, which, [as stated before,] desires to produce the largest results at the least cost."[1033]

Jones's next project for public entertainment, a Palace of the People to be erected at Muswell Hill, Hornsey, was an even more modern structure. This new entertainment complex was to serve as the "twin brother" to the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, giving the working classes of North London all of the advantages of their South London counterparts with easy access.[1034] In 1858, Jones published a

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[1031]"True architecture does not admit iron as a constructive material," *The Seven Lamps,* p.44.

[1032]Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps,* p. 16.

[1033]*Ibid.,* p. 17.

[1034]*The Illustrated London News* reported the population of the working classes on the north side of London to be four times the number of those on the south; in addition, the major railroad termini of the Great Northern, the London and North-Western, the Eastern

pamphlet and exhibited the eighteen drawings he prepared for The Great Northern Palace Company's venture.[1035]

Jones described the site as a place particularly suited to a "Building devoted to the Instruction and Amusement of the masses."[1036] Unlike Sydenham, the location abutted both a major rail line, the Great Northern Railway, and main thoroughfares out of London, allowing the public simple and quick access.[1037] Jones decided on the center of the site, a point of elevation approximately 200 feet above the Great Northern Railroad, for the location of the building and planned large eating areas at each end of the facility to allow patrons to relax and refresh themselves while admiring the magnificent views of the Hornsey, Kent, Surrey, and Middlesex countryside.[1038] The selection of the highest ground offered other advantages as well. The drop of the land meant that a branch of the railway could connect to the north side of the building at the lowest level, allowing rail passengers to arrive under cover.[1039] Visitors arriving by carriage would enjoy this same luxury by disembarking under the protection of a glazed awning attached to the north side of building on the level above the rail platform [Figure 146].

One hundred and fifty acres, out of the total plot of four hundred fifty acres, was intended for the building and terraces, plus gardens "to be laid out in the Early

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Counties, and the Great Western Railways were located on the northern side of the city so that it wasn't "only the teeming population of the metropolis which will benefit by the erection of the Palace of the People, but nine-tenths of the United Kingdom are interested in its success, as excursion trains can bring up visitors from all the manufacturing districts, and convey them back to their homes, without the annoyance, delay, and expense of working their way through the crowded streets of London." *The Illustrated London News,* Feb. 12, 1859, p. 168.

[1035]The Great Northern Palace Company was formed to finance the Muswell Hill project through the sale of 40,000 shares at 10*l.* each.

[1036]*Catalogue, Architectural Exhibition, 1859,* p. 14.

[1037]Sydenham was a distance out of London and involved a long train-ride requiring transfer to a separate spur.

[1038]*The Building News,* Feb. 11, 1859, p. 131.

[1039]Access to the building would be gained by climbing 48 steps, also under cover. *The Illustrated London News,* March 17, 1860, p. 266.

English, Italian, Dutch, French, and modern English styles."[1040] A lake of thirty acres was included in this arrangement as well as facilities for archery, cricket, tennis, horse exercise, and other physical recreations. Mr. Spencer, the director of the Marquis of Lansdowne's gardens, would manage the grounds and conduct experiments on the scientific cultivation of flowers and plants.[1041] The remaining three hundred acres were to be divided into two parts, with thirty acres to be set aside for the use of "'benevolent institutions connected with art, science, literature, music, horticulture, and the railway interest' and the remaining two hundred seventy acres were to be developed with suburban villas."[1042]

The building was to be a picturesque ferrovitreous structure measuring 1,296 feet in length by 492 feet at its widest point. The design drew the viewer's eye to the roof through the placement of eight towers around the building and a large dome in the center [Figure 147]. This arrangement was markedly different from the arched transepts which dominated the roofs of Paxton. In fact, Jones's scheme is closer to John C. Loudon's concept for a "Glass house", published in his *Encyclopedia of Gardening* in 1827 [Figure 148], than to either of Paxton's Crystal Palaces. However, unlike Loudon, Jones did not focus on the dome, but emphasized the verticality of the towers instead. He reduced the importance of the dome by partially blocking its profile with galleries linking the four central towers and capping the towers with "gracefully bell-shaped roofs."[1043] These delicate terminations inspired images of fairy-tale palaces in some observers and prompted others to think of oriental minarets.[1044] This fanciful arrangement capitalized on the airiness and transparent qualities of the iron and glass construction at the roofline and broke

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[1040]*Building News*, Feb. 11, 1859, p. 132.
[1041]*Ibid.*
[1042]*Alexandra Palace,* Book prepared by the Alexandra Palace Working Party under the Chairmanship of Terry O'Sullivan, October, 1979, p. 7.
[1043]*Building News*, Feb. 11, 1859, p. 132.
[1044]Darby dissertation, p. 391.

through the utilitarian box below with single-level glazed apses at the ends of the building and the two-tiered theatre expanse to the north.

The interior lay-out of the complex was symmetrical and offered further advantages over the earlier Crystal Palaces [Figure 149]. At the center, a large winter garden was to be crowned with a dome 200 feet in diameter on the interior and 216 feet on the exterior [Figure 150]. This dome was to be supported on masonry walls rising 36 feet above the ground floor and 48 feet from the general level of the building.[1045] The elevation of the dome was projected at 144 feet.[1046] The press observed that this conservatory would "surpass anything which has yet been attempted in this country."[1047] By reserving this space for an arboretum, Jones accomplished several objectives. Masonry arcades thirty-six feet high would separate the area from the rest of the facility, providing a distinct zone which could be temperature and humidity-controlled to favor the growth of tropical plants without the adverse impact on the rest of the facility experienced at Sydenham.[1048] The openings in the arcades were to be filled with glass allowing views into the conservatory from all areas of the building and views of the rest of the building from inside the winter garden. The *Building News* printed the following description of Jones's depiction of this space:

> The wall surfaces are decorated with color, in warmer tones than the ironwork of the dome, which is painted in blue, red, and white, with the points of intersection of the tie-rods, and of their junctions with the girders, concealed by ornamental castings, painted yellow. From the centre of the dome is suspended an Alhambresque ornament, apparently to be gilt, which will

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[1045]It is interesting to note that the Building Committee's suggested dome for the 1851 Exhibition Building in Hyde Park also measured 200 feet. This reintroduces speculation about Jones's continued attempt to promote the Building Committee's plan over Paxton's with the comparison drawing mentioned earlier.

[1046]*The Illustrated London News,* March 17, 1860, p. 266.

[1047]*The Illustrated London News,* March 5, 1859, p. 226.

[1048]Problems at Sydenham resulted from raising the heat to a level adequate for tropical plants but harmful to the fabric of the building and uncomfortable for visitors. The humidity required in a hothouse configuration was also injurious to artwork and other exhibits.

> greatly increase the decorative effect of the interior. In the middle of the flooring is Monti's fountain, round which, but with a wide space between, are palms and tropical plants. The employment of the arcades, arranged in a circle to carry the dome, instead of allowing its ribs to spring directly from the floor, materially increases the architectural effect of this portion of the building, gives an appearance of structural solidity, and affords large surfaces for color to contrast with the comparatively minute surfaces of the iron tracery of the dome. Beneath the floor are the heating apparatus and steam-engines.[1049]

This area was terminated on the exterior of the building by four towers, two on the north side and two on the south side, connected by four galleries to create a square 276 feet by 276 feet surrounding the dome.

On the interior, the winter-garden was joined by naves 336 feet long by 260 feet wide. These areas contained central exhibition spaces 120 feet wide with adjacent side aisles each 70 feet in width. Galleries, 48 feet wide, encircled the dome, the naves, and the ends of the building. The nave to the west of the winter garden was intended for the display of industrial and commercial objects. Moving machinery, agricultural equipment, and raw products were to be placed in the center of this space with specimens and samples from manufacturers displayed in the galleries above. The nave to the east was dedicated to the Arts and Sciences. Exhibits from the various Schools and Works of Art would be shown on the ground level and illustrations from mathematics, geography, geology, astronomy, physics, biology, and sociology would appear in the galleries above.[1050] The roofs were formed of curved ribs, which sprang from side columns and carried the straight

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[1049]*Building News*, Feb. 11, 1859, p. 132.

[1050]"English history is to be illustrated in chronological order by pictures, statues, armour, implements of trade and husbandry, costumes, and models of the architecture of the different ages. Geography is to be exhibited on large maps and raised plans, accompanied by specimens of the productions, costume, and habits of living of all nations; together with some models of some of the most remarkable buildings of each country. Astronomy, with its brilliant and striking phenomena, is to be illustrated by means of large and powerful apparatus. Geology will be presented to the eye by models, or actual specimens in bulk, of the stratification of rocks, with their respective fossil remains and mineral deposits, arranged according to their relative positions; and Mining will be explained by open sectional models, exhibiting the operations carried on in the shafts and galleries of several of the principal iron, coal, copper, lead, tin, silver, and salt mines, in different parts of the world." *Ibid.*

girders to which the frames for the glass panes were to be attached.[1051] These girders were to be painted in the typical Jonesian arrangement of blue and white on the surface with the undersides painted red.

Towers terminated the naves on the eastern and western ends of the building. These towers were shorter than those surrounding the dome, but were distinguished with the same inverted roofs. A deep semicircular recess between the two towers at each end reminded many observers of the facade of a cathedral. Below the recessed arches, the building flared out into the glazed semicircular colonnades which would function as pleasant refreshment-courts.

Greater emphasis was to be placed on the education of the public in this institution than in its pedecessors. A large lecture hall, 216' in diameter, would be constructed on the north side of the building to enable speakers to discuss pieces from the collection.[1052] A spacious 24' corridor would surround the apsidal lecture facility, linking the theater with all three levels of the building. In this way, patrons would enjoy comfortable and quick access to their seats and the hall could be evacuated in five to ten minutes should that be necessary.[1053] The apsidal arrangement was adopted so that each of the 10,000 people in the audience would be able to hear and see distinctly.[1054] Construction of the theatre would follow "the same principle as the dome, with curved ribs springing from columns, and meeting in a circle at the top, through which the interior is lighted"; in this instance, opaque panels would probably have been used instead of clear glass.[1055]

The total area to be covered by the building was planned at 511,038 feet on the ground level; 138,816 feet on the gallery level; and 91,008 on the upper floor,

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[1051] *Ibid.*

[1052] The size and acoustical challenge of a 10,000 person lecture facility was extraordinary during this period.

[1053] *Floral World and Garden Guide,* May 1859, pp. 98-99.

[1054] *The Illustrated London News,* March 17, 1860, p. 266.

[1055] *Building News,* Feb. 11, 1859, p. 132.

totalling 740,862 feet. The slope of the site which facilitated the railway station on the north side of the building, allowed construction of a 48 foot wide basement on the southern side.[1056] Jones exhibited eighteen drawings and a plaster model of the project in St. James's Hall in December 1858. Some of the drawings and the model were also displayed later at the Architectural Exhibition located at 9 Conduit Street, at Colnaghi's , and at Legatt's.[1057] *The Building News* printed the following listing and description of the drawings shown at St. James's Hall:

> No. 1 represents a general perspective view of the intended building. No. 2 shows the interior of what is termed the "Industrial Nave, the roof of which is to be formed of semicircular principals of iron, to be colored blue, red, and yellow. No. 3 is the interior of the Winter-garden, which comprises the interior of the dome, in the centre of which is a fountain, of original and novel design, composed at it basement of a group of...horses and figures , from the centre of which rises a shaft, surmounted by a winged figure of Victory. The roof of this dome is also of iron and glass, elegant and light in design. No. 4 is a perspective of the "Fine-Art nave", which, constructively, is similar to the "Industrial nave." No. 5 is an external view of the north and west fronts of the building, showing the railway terminus, a terrace, the principal front, and other accessories; the whole forming a water-color painting of the most exquisite description, both in design, color, and consummate execution, the work of a true and accomplished artist. Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, and 14, form severally the plans of the basement, gound floor, upper and lower galleries, and also that of the site of the branch railway. No. 11 is what is called a "skeleton map," showing the exact position of the intended new building. No. 12 shows the north and south fronts in geometric elevation, giving, of course, the proportions, without the aid of perspective. No. 13 is the elevation of the west front. No. 14 gives a transverse section through the "Industrial nave," in which a most admirable example of iron construction is shown, with that versatility of design and exquisite combination for which Mr. Jones is so eminently remarkable. No. 15 is a transverse section of the dome, exhibiting with good effect some of the structural features of the building. No. 16 shows a transverse section of the lecture-theater, and No. 17 a section through the same, longitudinally, to which we specially direct the attention of younger branches of the profession, as worthy of a most careful examination. At one end of the theatre is an organ, and we presume that this fine apartment might also be admirably adapted for concerts or oratorios on a grand scale, although

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[1056] *The Illustrated London News*, March 17, 1860, p. 266.

[1057] Darby Dissertation, p. 390.

> we do not perceive any orchestral arrangements in it, which, however, might be easily accomplished as an after consideration.[1058]

These plans were also reviewed with praise and enthusiasm in the *Builder,* and *The Illustrated London News.*[1059] In addition, *The Athenaeum* applauded the "great variety"and effectiveness Jones had shown in dealing with the new form of construction and materials and determined that "the arcades, by Herr Eisenlohr, at the Heidelberg station of the Baden Railway...are not more appropriate, to the verge of originality, than this new arrangement of iron and glass for the new purposes which the time and our climate seemed disposed to 'bring out.'"[1060] In the same manner, *The Art-Journal* acclaimed his "higher grade of architectural genius"[1061] and compared the "fertililty of his artistic resources" and impressive and effective designs and drawings for the Muswell Hill project to the level of creativity exhibited in Pennethorne's plans for the new Government Offices. Pennethorne suffered in the contrast; his plans were denounced with the opinion that "a duller, less artistic, less inviting edifice it would indeed be difficult to produce."[1062] The noted historian, Henry-Russell Hitchcock also postulated that the design for the Palace of the People, Muswell Hill, and Jones's design for a permanent exhibition building to be erected at St. Cloud, France, were "two of the finest of many unrealized ferro-vitreous dreams."[1063]

[1058]The fact that *The Building News* felt it necessary to explain a "skeleton map" in a profession publication suggests that Jones may have been an early advocate of this type of documentation. *The Building News,* December 24, 1858, p. 1278.

[1059]*The Illustrated London News:* Feb. 12, 1859, p. 168, March 5, 1859 and March 17, 1860; *The Builder:* Dec. 25, 1858 and March 12, 1859.

[1060]*The Athenaeum,* No. 1627, Jan. 1, 1859.

[1061]*The Art-Journal,* 1859, p. 125.

[1062]*Ibid.,* 125. It is impossible to pass up the temptation to remark on the fact that this was the same Pennethorne who regulated Jones's designs in Kensington Palace Gardens and at St. James's Hall and to suggest that the final designs would have been more satisfactory if executed according to Jones's judgment and not Pennethorne's.

[1063]Hitchcock, *The Crystal Palace,* pp. 36-37.

The adulation and articles continued and the press reported an excursion to the site on Saturday, April 2, 1859, by Jones and the other "pioneers in a new undertaking...to build another Crystal Palace, which is to be more beautiful though less expensive that its permanent predecessor at Sydenham."[1064] The official inauguration of the site took place on July 16, 1859, with "a party of about 350 ladies and gentlemen assembled on the site at the invitation of the promoters...to meet Lord Brougham and other patrons and friends of the enterprise."[1065] Toasts to the "Success of the Palace of the People" included the health of Owen Jones and Professor Donaldson's expressed belief that "the magic wand of Mr. Owen Jones might even enable him to enhance the natural beauty of the site."[1066] This ceremony was followed by numerous meetings to discuss the budget estimates and the financing required for the project.[1067] Although Fox and the other contractors said the project could be completed within the estimates, necessary funding for the project failed to materialize and the project collapsed in 1860. In 1863, The Alexandra Park Co. Ltd. was formed to purchase the land and to erect a "People's Palace" built out of material salvaged from the 1862 Exhibition Building. The architect for this project was Alfred Meeson.[1068]

The other permanent ferrovitreous exhibition building cited by Hitchcock, the proposal for St. Cloud, France, is best understood through Michael Darby's explanation of the drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[1069] The first design entitled "Palais de Cristal de Saint Cloud, Exposition Permanent de l'Industrie Francaise, Jardin d'Hiver et Parc de Plaisance", dated October 4, 1860, follows the precedent of Jones's own design for the Palace at Muswell Hill [Figure 151]. The

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[1064]*The Islington Gazette,* April 23, 1859.
[1065]*The Builder,* July 23, 1859, p. 486.
[1066]*Ibid.*
[1067]Darby Dissertation, p. 393.
[1068]The Alexandra Palace Working Party, *Alexandra Palace,* p. 7.
[1069]Darby and Van Zanten, p. 63.

French project indicates a more prominent and more graceful dome than its English predecessor, with more complicated and advanced construction. At Muswell Hill, curved iron ribs met in the center to create a simple, radiating frame. In St. Cloud, the ribs form pointed arches in a radical departure from the earlier work of Jones and Paxton. In addition, delicate iron pendentives concentrate the weight of the framework on to four slender corner posts. The pointed arches of these ribs are similar to the ribs projected in the People's Palace at Muswell Hill. The St. Cloud project gains additional refinement through Jones's addition of the two-tiered apses on both ends of the building, gradually reducing the height of the structure to meet the ground. Other changes involve the substitution of plants for exhibits in the main nave areas and the placement of long pools of water on each side of the building.

The second design replaced the 'dome-plus-towers' configuration of the first scheme with a more fluid arrangement [Figure 152]. In the second lay-out, the dome is moved to the center of one side and two smaller domes are placed at either end of the nave. Curved projections extend from the domed-side of the building, while an arrangement of gables, fan-shaped transepts, and three-storey recessed arches creates an impressive trio of entries on the opposite side. Darby's research recognized the second scheme as the obvious prototype for one of Paxton's designs [Figure 153]. This Paxton drawing is in the possession of the Yale University Art Gallery[1070] and was first published by Hitchcock in his book,*The Crystal Palace.* (1952).[1071] Darby suggests that both Jones and Paxton were members of a company formed to realize the St. Cloud project, but the company was dissolved in 1862. Paxton was in Paris at the time working on several projects, and he became involved in a subsequent scheme for the exhibition space at St. Cloud. Darby proposes that

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[1070]*Ibid.*

[1071]Hitchcock, *The Crystal Palace,* p. 39.

Paxton prepared his version of Jones's second St. Cloud design for the successor company.[1072]

Jones's third design for the St. Cloud project presents an elongated building unified under one huge dome and a mammoth recessed arch entry [Figures 154 and 155]. The streamlined simplicity of this structure, which "steps" down to the ground through a series of giant terraces, seems as revolutionary and forward-looking in its nineteenth-century context as the visionary drawings of Boullée were a century before. Perhaps Boullée and Jones share more than the ability to produce impressive perspectives with an exaggerated scale. Their fine drawings of sublime structures and utopian visions express the belief of both men that architecture is an instrument capable of transforming and defining an age; unfortunately, their grandest schemes were never realized and their brilliance can only be surmised from a few sketches.

Jones's exhibition structures are significant to this study for several reasons. First, they provide examples of the architect's originality and design competence and show the evolution in his designs from the angular first project to the streamlined final submission. Photos exist of the models Jones used in developing these schemes, indicating one of the tools he employed in the design process and emphasizing his interest in form and massing [Figure 156]. Second, the exhibition buildings demonstrate the architect's willingness to embrace new materials and technology and to experiment with new types of buildings; and third, they show his understanding of and contribution to, the mentality and architecture of his age. His plans for magnificent structures to elevate public taste and raise the educational level of the masses respond to the Victorian preoccupations with public improvement and the belief that architecture played an important role in the progress of society. His attention to the increased concerns for safety, comfort, and convenience, also

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[1072]Darby and Van Zanten, p. 64.

indicate his accord with the mounting concerns of the profession and the populace. Finally, he understood his contemporaries love of spectacle and the social promenade,[1073] and by applying his talent to all of these contemporary concerns, plus the traditional demands of architecture, he was able to produce appropriate structures which were sublime - yet comfortable, functional, and beautiful.[1074]

In *Crystal Palace: Joseph Paxton and Charles Fox,* John McKean describes the spectacle and promenade afforded in the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park as "the thrill of the terror of nature, at once safe but also sharpened by a building offering us no promise of refuge, no hiding place, being itself formless, shadowless" and calls this "the mid-century expression of the sublime."[1075] He also maintains that "this sense, of the voyeur in a transformed nature, moves directly from the Crystal Palace to the department store...where goods may not be just devoured by the eyes but by the wallets too."[1076] Both Walter Benjamin and McKean claim that the era of the consumer began at the world exhibitions.

Walter Benjamin, saw international exhibitions as "the sites of pilgrimages to the commodity fetish" and the places where the exchange value of commodities was glorified. He realized that the items presented were not the only objects on display, explaining that exhibitions opened up "a phantasamagoria that people enter to be amused. The entertainment industry facilitates this by elevating people to the level of commodities. They submit to being manipulated while enjoying their alienation from themselves and others."[1077]

[1073]McKean, p. 28.

[1074]The term "sublime" ia used here with a double intention. The first interpretation corresponds to Webster's definition of "inspiring awe or admiration through grandeur, beauty, etc." (*Webster's New World Dictionary,* Cleveland, William Collins and World Publishing Co., 1976, p. 1418) and the second to the nineteenth-century context described in the paragraph following this footnote.

[1075]McKean, p. 29.

[1076]*Ibid.*

[1077]Walter Benjamin, *Reflections,* New York, Schocken Books, 1978, pp. 151-2.

Clever retailers recognized the opportunities available to entrepeneurs willing to cater to the buying public and to create new shopping experiences capable of duplicating the same type of "enthronement of merchandise, with the aura of amusement surrounding it..." that drew the public to the famed exhibitions.[1078] As a result, dramatic changes occurred in the geography and character of London shops.[1079] The expansion of retail facilities in Regent, Oxford, and other fashionable streets in the West End of London during the 1850s attests to the increased demand for personal possessions and new luxury items. The concentration of shops in these new streets also created new opportunities for "promenading." The extent of this activity and the importance of the new shopping areas is captured in a contemporary description of Regent Street recorded in the 1850s:

> Towards four o'clock, starting from Regents Quadrant and to right and left of Oxford Street, the crowd surges this way and that; carriages stand in groups in front of Swan & Edgar's silk shop, or at Allison's, where the latest fashions and materials are displayed. Buzzing round the carriages are innumerable horsemen, gentlemen wishing to pay their respects to the ladies. Regent Street is a precious observatory; it is only there that rank and fashion can be studied at close quarters in a public place in morning clothes.[1080]

and a later one reported in *The Illustrated London News* in the mid-1860's:

> The brilliant ever-shifting scene presented daily in Regent Street during the season is dizzying in its confusion...the fireflies of fashion glance rapidly hither and thither, and the West end streets are thronged with a promiscuous jungle of carriages, horsemen and horsewomen, cabs, omnibuses, and wagons; the pavements being crowded with fashionable loungers. With what dignified ease the gorgeously bedeizened footmen attend to their mistresses or lounge about in attitudes of studied grace.[1081]

One development which changed the nature of commercial activity during the nineteenth century involved the creation of bazaars. These establishments represent an intermediary step in the evolution of retail space between the open

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[1078]*Ibid.*

[1079]*The Times London History Atlas*, ed. by Hugh Clout, London, Times Books, 1994, p. 106.

[1080]L. C. B. Seaman, *Life in Victorian London*, London, B. T. Batsford, p. 127.

[1081]*Ibid.*, p. 128.

street market and the department store. Each bazaar comprised a variety of stalls, offering an array of "millinery, cutlery, toys, ornaments" and other items, under one roof.[1082] Early examples of this type of market, include the Soho Bazaar in Soho Square, converted from the idled "workshops of an out-maneuvered army contractor," and the Pantheon Bazaar in Oxford Street, Sydney Smirke's rehabilitation of a former theater.[1083] In 1851, one writer criticized these conversions observing that "a large building, constructed with purpose and forethought...is still lacking," but felt that "the general system of shopkeeping seems on the eve of change. The holes and corners generally formed into modern shops, from all kinds of buildings, without any general plan - finery outside and darkness within - will give way to the system of bazaars, after the wise fashion of the East."[1084]

The architect equipped with the talent and experience to affect this change was Owen Jones. As mentioned earlier, Jones had been one of the few architects concerned with shop design and had been successful in producing the dramatic interior of the shop in Southampton and exteriors for shops in London.[1085] In 1858, he was innovative in designing a bazaar expressly for the purpose of exhibiting and marketing "goods of the most elegant description."[1086] This "novel" arrangement called the "Crystal Palace Bazaar" and the "New London Crystal Palace" received notice and praise for the originality of its architectural design and construction, for the beauty of its internal decorations, and for the success of its lighting.[1087] Not

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[1082] *Ibid.*, pp. 94-5.
[1083] *The Westminster Review,* American Edition, New York, Leonard Scott & Co., 1851, p. 185.
[1084] *Ibid.*, p. 185.
[1085] The description of these early innovations are discussed at the end of Chapter III.
[1086] *The Illustrated London News,* November 6, 1858, p. 440.
[1087] Middleton, *Beaux-Arts,* p. 212; *The Illustrated London News,* November 6, 1858, p. 440.

surprising, the contractors for the project were the Messrs. Kennard, of George Street, Westminster, who worked with Jones on other commissions.[1088]

The first objective in this enterprise was to choose an advantageous site [Figure 157]. This was accomplished by selecting an area behind a block of houses on the north side of Oxford Street extending west to an opening in John Street (called Great Portland Street today) and east behind a block of houses on Regent Street.[1089] This location seemed "eminently favourable to the success of such a project," since the area was considered "the most crowded thoroughfare of the western part of the metropolis, especially 'during the season.'"[1090] As in St. James's Hall, this interior configuration forced Jones to lay out a building to fit within an existing arrangement and to be entered from more than one direction. The length of the interior space east to west measured 250 feet; the north-south dimension totalled 140 feet (90 feet plus the east-west corridor). The narrowest point of this irregular arrangement was 33 feet and the height of the space reached 36 feet.[1091]

Some reporters took exception to the attribution of the "Crystal Palace" in the title, making comparisons between this much smaller structure and Paxton's designs for Hyde Park and at Sydenham.[1092] These comparisons, however, ended favorably, with *The Builder* stating that Jones's "iron-and-glass" design was "considerably nearer to that of true and good architecture than what is found in the building at Sydenham" and that the method of top-lighting which Jones introduced in this building deserved particular attention due to the increased occupation of internal courts within buildings.[1093] This lighting, discussed below, involved the use of two

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[1088]*Ibid.*

[1089]This location had been considered previously as a potential site for the Architectural Exhibition. *The Builder,* October 30, 1858, p. 719-720.

[1090]*The Art-Journal,* December 1, 1858, p. 366.

[1091]*The Building News,* August 6, 1858, p. 797 and *The Illustrated London News,* November 6, 1858, p. 440.

[1092]*The Building News,* August 6, 1858, p. 797,

[1093]*The Builder,* October 30, 1858, p. 719.

layers of glass in the roof to admit natural light during the day and suspended star-shaped gas jets, similar to the arrangement Jones used in St. James's Hall, to provide artificial lighting at night. He also repeated the basic concepts for ventilation which he introduced in St. James's Hall.[1094]

The iron framework of the bazaar consisted of cast-iron columns and girders bolted together.[1095] *The Builder* described the materials and method of construction in detail, explaining that "the flange plate of the upper tier of columns is bedded immediately upon the flange forming the top of the lower column, and the two flanges are screwed together; the girders of the gallery are laid on the flanges, and connected, end to end, through the columns, by bolts or screws, and the corresponding girders for the roof are laid in a similar manner."[1096] The ribs of the roof were formed with timber and wrought-iron flitches.[1097] The timbers used were 4 inch by 8 inch scantling, in segments notched together at the junctions, and the two flitches were of 1/2-inch wrought iron, bolted through. The assumption of no thrust was consistent with contemporary thinking for roofs of that type.[1098] Purlins of 9 inch by 3 inch scantling carried the decorative ceiling below the roof and the fixed sashes, which formed the entire roof-covering; the spaces over the ribs, however, were covered with lead.[1099]

[1094]The arrangement for ventilation included openings next to the internal ribs covered with perforated metal panels and gilded on the interior to allow stale air to escape to the layer between the two roofs. Metal pipes at the roof summit channelled the captured air to the outside.

[1095]Henry-Russell Hitchcock reproduced the interior illustration of the Crystal Palace Bazaar printed in the *Illustrated London News* (1858) and discussed this shopping area as an important example of cast-iron architecture in "Early Cast Iron Facades" and in *Early Victorian Architecture,* p. 403.

[1096]*The Builder,* October 30, 1858, p. 720.

[1097]A *flitch beam* or *flitch girder* is "A beam built up of structural timbers which are bolted together with a steel plate sandwiched between them," *Dictionary of Architecture and Construction,* ed. by Cyril M. Harris, New York, McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1975, p. 208. Jones 's flitches used wrought iron in the place of steel.

[1098]*The Builder,* October 30, 1858, p. 720.

[1099]*Ibid.*

The interior [Figure 159] presented a spacious hall with a decorative vaulted roof, shaped by a framework of ribs supported by two-tiers of cast-iron columns, 12 feet from center to center.[1100] The ground floor contained sales counters, eight feet by six feet, arranged in two main avenues and surrounded with ample passages. In addition, "well-lighted stalls for the display of fancy articles" were located under the galleries.[1101] Ten foot wide galleries on the first tier extended around the north, south, and west sides of the building.[1102] These galleries were covered with coved ceilings, formed of iron ribs and topped by corrugated iron.[1103] The elongated entrance from the east permitted a different, and well received, arrangement. The gallery space was deepened creating a "handsome vestibule" on the ground floor and space for special amenities above.[1104]

These amenities included "perfect" accommodations for the exhibitors in the form of a "spacious dining-room, with lavatories and all other conveniences"; and well conceived arrangements for the public, including refreshment and retiring rooms and a private restaurant reserved for ladies luncheons.[1105] This attention to the comfort and convenience of both exhibitors and customers is an example of Jones's ability to anticipate and envision the new functions and recreations desired during his age and to provide novel and commendable facilities addressing these needs and the appetites of his contemporaries. He was acutely aware of the need to provide public facilities for hygiene and sanitation, particularly for women, since he had served on a Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts committee to study this problem during the 1850's and had pushed to recommend the establishment of

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[1100] *The Building News,* August 6, 1858, p. 797.
[1101] *The Illustrated London News,* November 6, 1858, p. 440.
[1102] *The Building News,* August 6, 1858, p. 797, reported the width of the galleries at 9 feet; on October 30, 1858 (p. 720), *The Builder* indicated a depth of "about ten feet."
[1103] *The Building News,* August 6, 1858, p. 797.
[1104] *The Illustrated London News,* November 6, 1858, p. 442.
[1105] *Ibid.*

public water closets and urinals. (Other members of this like-minded committee included G. H. Lewes, Charles Dickens, Thomas Carlyle, (Sir) Henry Cole, Richard Redgrave, (Sir) Charles Barry, and (Sir) Matthew Digby Wyatt.[1106])

The Illustrated London News reported that although the merchandise displays would probably be attractive, "the great feature to which exhibitors and the public will look must be the decoration of the building itself."[1107] The paper printed the illustration of the interior shown in Figure 159 on November 6, 1858, accompanied by a description which explained that iron columns supported the gallery floor and rose to the roof where they were replaced with semi-circular ribs forming the framework of the ceiling. This explanation was followed by a comparison of the emerging bazaar and its celebrated predecessor at Sydenham: "The semicircular roof at Sydenham is familiar to all our readers; and, if they can only imagine that rude ridge-and-furrow construction to be arranged in geometrical patterns of great beauty and symmetry of form, and the translucent material, instead of crystal, to be of ruby, sapphire, and topaz, they may form some slight notion of the brilliancy of this gem-lighted hall."[1108]

Jones used the light-weight patent canvas material called "Le Staff" manufactured by Desachy, of 49 Great Marlborough Street, to create a network of ribs. First, he defined and divided each of the bays in the semicircular roof into longitudinal partitions with transverse ribs. These areas were sub-divided by diagonal ribs forming large triangular shaped sections. His third step involved the further sub-division of the triangles with plaster mouldings to create star-shaped panels comprised of a ruby star in the center, surrounded by six blue stars and an outer circle of six amber-coloured stars. Stars of clear glass arranged in diamond-

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[1106]Minutes of the Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures & Commerce, November 8, 1850 and November 29, 1850.
[1107]*The Illustrated London News,* November 6, 1858, p. 440.
[1108]*Ibid.*

shaped panels in the center of each bay complemented the colored glass and admitted the filtered light from the outer roof. The external covering, about twelve inches above the internal ceiling, used Hartley's glass, an opaque glazing, to prevent the reflection of the colored glass below from altering the appearance of the goods for sale.[1109]

Since the ornamentation of the ceiling served as the main focus of the bazaar's decoration, Jones created two different types of embellishment: one for daylight and the other for evening. During the day, the effect of the white and colored glass produced the decoration and the painted ornamentation and gilding were barely perceived; in the evening, however, the efficacy of the enrichment was reversed. At night, the glass darkened, and the patterns provided by the mouldings, painted decoration, and gilding were lit from below by the suspended star-shaped gas fixtures.[1110]

The shape of the iron columns was described as "cruciform with the re-entering angles filled up with segments of a circle."[1111] This arrangement, similar to the Crystal Palaces, enabled Jones to repeat the application of two or three colors in the broad bands separated by thin fillets of white. In this instance, the bands of the column on the upper tier were gilded and painted light blue (almost lilac) and bright red. The columns of the lower tier are closer to his scheme for the columns in Christ Church, Sydenham, being "a dark marone, or duller red" with capitals in light blue and white. The Crystal Palace Bazaar capitals were plain, however, without the anthemion motif of the earlier arrangement. The gilt abacus was continued as a moulding on the interior. Gilding also appeared on the gallery railing.[1112]

1109*Ibid.*
1110 *The Builder*, October 30, 1858, p. 719.
1111*Ibid.*, p. 720.
1112*Ibid.*

No illustration of the exterior has been identified, but the principal entrance on John Street was described as "a small but entire frontage"[1113] having "the outline of one of the ends of a transept of the Crystal Palace, and enough of the general character of filling-in, to bring it within that class of structure and design."[1114] However, Jones's design contained colored glass in a large and traceried arch and terminated with a gabled roof capped with the gilt ante-fixa and acroterial ornaments familiar in his work.[1115] At ground level, the windows were set back, leaving free-standing shafts supporting richly colored and elaborately ornamented capitals and four semi-circular arches. The second and third storeys presented segmental-headed arches with panels of fretwork and ornamentation between the floors. This arrangement was considered a good example of "a facade which may well be applied to street architecture elsewhere."[1116] On the other hand, due to restrictions of the site, the Oxford Street entrance was described as "unavoidably a mere doorway."[1117]

During the following year, however, Jones designed commercial premises on Oxford Street which *The Building News* recognized for significantly improving the architecture of the street and for creating "one of the most important structures recently erected in the metropolis."[1118] This was the shop for the Messrs. Follett and Clarkson Osler. It is extremely unfortunate that no record of this facade exists since contemporary descriptions remark on its unique style and effectiveness in terms which place Jones more in the category of a "pioneer of Modernism" than a

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[1113]*The Illustrated London News,* November 6, 1858, p. 442.
[1114]*The Builder,* October 30, 1858, p. 720.
[1115]*Ibid.,* p. 720.
[1116]*The Illustrated London News,* November 6, 1858, p. 442.
[1117]*Ibid.,* p. 442.
[1118]*The Building News,* June 3, 1859, p. 510.

High Victorian.[1119] The following excerpt shows that although Jones's scheme did not rely on iron and glass, it contributed to a new, non-referential aesthetic:

> Each story is composed of three arched openings, with plain architraves, and small ornaments to the crown of the arches, and the feet of architraves. The ornament throughout is of the simplest character, and chiefly, as cement work ought to be, incised. There is no imitation of stone, or of stone design. There are a few slightly projecting strings, and chamfers at the extremities of the front enable the strings to be stopped against them. The panels are formed by a simple incised line, and are equal in effect to the elaborate mouldings which architects of less merit would have pressed into the work...There is not much ornament on the front, but all that is is good, and is striking from the evidence it bears from a master mind having been engaged upon it.[1120]

The unusual grouping of the windows was also praised: "The ground floor is not, as is too frequently the case, a mass of plate glass between thin sash bars, but three solidly built windows in thorough unison with the superstructure, and what is still more rare, and not less meritorious, the plate glass which fills the two side arches, is, instead of being brought forward to the extreme limit, most judiciously recessed."[1121] The writer noted that this arrangement enhanced the display of goods at the sacrifice of only a few inches.

Thomas Osler established the firm of F. & C. Osler in Birmingham in 1807 for the manufacture of glass toys. The firm expanded under the leadership of his son, (Abraham) Follett Osler, and developed further when his second son, Thomas Clarkson, joined the firm to manage the financial side of the business. The brothers opened a London showroom at 44 Oxford Street in the spring of 1845.[1122]

The firm's records do not indicate any association with Jones during the forties, but he was involved with members of the firm in 1850 regarding the great fountain

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[1119]An elevation of the Oxford Street establishment for Osler's was displayed as Number 125 in the Exhibition of Jones's work held in 1874. The same drawing was probably the elevation shown in the London Exhibition in 1862.

[1120]*The Building News,* January 13, 1860, p. 20.

[1121]*Ibid.*, p. 20.

[1122]John P. Smith, *Osler's Crystal for Royalty and Rajahs,* London, Mallett, 1991, p. 9.

which they displayed in the Crystal Palace.[1123] Michael Darby notes that Jones informed Cole in September 1850, that the firm wanted Barry to design the fountain. This did not happen, however, and Follett Osler designed the impressive waterworks which became the "centerpiece" of the Great Exhibition. [1124] Since the fountain was re-erected at Sydenham in 1854, Jones would have had further negotiations with members of the firm at that time.

When their lease on Number 44 Oxford Street expired in 1858, the Oslers were able to acquire Number 45. They also received permission to destroy the existing buildings in order to erect a new showroom. At this point, Jones was given the commission to design their new facility. He created the noteworthy exterior, already discussed, and a novel interior. *The Building News* labeled the interior as one of the famous "sights of London"[1125] and another example of Jones's ability to produce "highly effective" arrangements through "inexpensive" means.[1126] Some of the ideas and materials introduced in St. James's Hall and in the Crystal Palace Bazaar were repeated, but reconfigured in a totally new way.

Double doors on Oxford Street opened into a lobby paved with Minton tiles in geometric patterns; St. James's Hall and the Crystal Palace Bazaar had wooden floors with geometric inlay.[1127] Shoppers progressed through an adjoining vestibule with three arches, 11 feet high and 5 feet 7 inches wide, into the main showroom

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[1123]I am indebted to the following scholars and museum officials who have provided insight and materials on the Osler's firm for this study: Stephen Wildman, Curator of Prints and Drawings in the Department of Fine Art, Birmingham Museums & Art Gallery and Glynns Wild, Keeper of Applied Art, also in the Birmingham (England) Museums & Art Gallery; Mr. John P. Smith, Mallett & Sons Ltd., London; Michael Darby, Ph.D.; and the late Professor Emeritus, University of Birmingham, Gordon Cherry.

[1124]Darby Dissertation, pp. 386.

[1125]*Getting London in Perspective,* The Barbicon Art Gallery, 1984, p. 69., and "The London Show-rooms" from Mr. John P. Smith's Osler's files.

[1126]*The Building News,* June 3, 1859, p. 510.

[1127]Material from Osler's file in the possession of John P. Smith.

[Figure 160].[1128] In the showroom, Jones created "an almost infinitesimal perspective, and a wonderful effect of extended space" by placing fourteen elliptically-headed mirrors directly opposite each other on both sides of the room. He also created the illusion of an area larger than 106 feet by 24 feet by 25 feet 4 inches high space, by placing a mirror (24 foot 9 inches high and 12 feet wide) on the northern wall. The entire scene reflected in this looking glass, producing "such a feast for the eye" that *The Building News* said it "could probably not be matched" in the country, and extolled it saying, "it is like a dream of fairy-land, and is alive with crystal fascinations."[1129] Another report said that the reflection in the mirrors on the walls and in glass tables in the center of the room loaded with crystal astonished the visitor with a view of "thousands upon thousands of the most perfect gems in glass that skill and art can devise."[1130]

Pevsner described this interior as having Louis XV elements on the walls under a glass roof inspired by medieval timber roofs, such as the one found in S. Zeno in Verona.[1131] This "elaborately and beautifully decorated roof"[1132] was "formed of portions of three concentric circles, the larger one forming the centre of the ceiling, and the other two connecting themselves at the springing lines with the side walls."[1133] Moulded ribs of Desachy's "*Le Staff*" divided the ceiling longitudinally into fourteen sections. These compartments, corresponding to the fourteen mirrors below, were further subdivided to create a ceiling composed of 1,456

[1128]The Victoria and Albert Museum owns a watercolor by Jones depicting the interior of the Osler Gallery. A copy of this illustration appears in the following references: Nikolaus Pevsner, *A History of Building Types,* p. 261 [black and white]; Robin Middleton and David Watkin, *Neoclassical and 19th-Century French Architecture/2,* Rizzoli, New York, p. 370 [black and white]; Robin Middleton, ed., *The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture,* Pl.X (color); and Ada Polak, *GLASS: its makers and its public,* Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1975, cover.

[1129]*The Building News,* June 3, 1859, p. 510.

[1130]Files of John P. Smith.

[1131]Pevsner, *Building Types,* p. 260.

[1132]Photocopy of "Crystal Splendors" from the files of John P. Smith.

[1133]*The Building News,* June 3, 1859, p. 510.

glazed panels. Unusual pendants marked the intersection of the ribs; the groundwork of the moulding was painted white and the embellishements were accented in blue, red, and gilding "very judiciously contrasted."[1134]

Red paper, of a "small and appropriate pattern," appeared between the mirrors, and panelled, mahogany counters 2 feet 9 inches high projected 3 feet 6 inches from the walls. Jones also designed showcases to hold many of the smaller articles and these were described as "worthy of note as a combination of artistic colouring by the first master of the art of colour of his day."[1135] Gas sun-burners, similar to the fixtures he had used previously, were installed for night illumination.

Jones added a wing to the showroom in 1862.[1136] At the time, the *Art Journal* reported that "this new structure, in happy adaptation to its use and intrinsic beauty of effect surpasses the principal gallery to which it is attached."[1137] Jones continued producing designs for Osler's, creating exhibition and product designs which also drew praise. For example, Jones designed the firm's showcase for the 1862 Exhibition[1138] and a "little temple...a type or small token of those greater temples which have proceeded from the same exalted mind that produced it--that of Mr. Owen Jones" for the same exhibition.[1139]

Jones designed other prestigious retail shops in London's fashionable shopping district in the fifties and sixties. At 216 Regent Street, he achieved a scheme for the exclusive French perfumer and glover, Houbigant's, described in the *English Cyclopedia* as "one of the most important attempts at that time in London to

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[1134] *Ibid.*

[1135] Files of John P. Smith.

[1136] The Osler premises were demolished in 1926 during a remodelling. Jones exhibited an elevation of the facade of Osler's showroom in the London Exhibition, 1862, and a drawings of the showroom in the Paris Exhibition of 1867. Darby files and Dissertation, p. 387.

[1137] *Art Journal*, 1862, p. 211.

[1138] This stand is mentioned in *The Illustrated London News*, July 12, 1862 and in Michael Darby's Dissertation, p. 387. It is illustrated in Waring's *Masterpieces*, vo.l. II, pl. 160.

[1139] I am indebted to Stephen Wildman for this reference in *The Illustrated London News*, July 17, 1862, p. 56.

improve the artistic character of such places."[1140] His work for Jay's, the famous mourning emporium,[1141] located at 247 Regent Street, was described as less elaborate than his work for Houbigant's, but contemporary reports said it showed "a better treatment of colour, combined with much beautiful delineation of form."[1142]

In 1861, Jones exhibited his ceiling design for Hancock's of Bruton Street at the Royal Academy.[1143] This design, to be executed in "patent canvas plaster," presumably by Desachy, received an enthusiastic reception. The *Building News* said, "Nothing can exceed it either in design or color." The ceiling contained a central panel with circular ends, and the graduation of the ornament away from the center was described as "marvelous." The *Building News* reviewer was confused about Jones's style, but he conceded that "it matters little what the style is because it is so thoroughly harmonious." Further, he determined that "there is not a feeble or false line in the whole work" and that Jones was "equally successful in color. White, blue, and red with a little gilding, have alone been employed but the effect is exceedingly chaste and elegant. The centre, as with the line ornament, is the richest portion, but the whole work is linked most skilfully [sic] together, and it is only after attentive examination that one is enabled to detect the secret of its success, or to realize its full value as a work of art."[1144]

Michael Darby notes that Hancock's had been established at 39 Bruton Street in 1848 and that the firm expanded rapidly. They opened other premises at 152

[1140] *English Cyclopedia* , pp. 646-7, 1856; Jones completed this commission (now demolished) in 1856.

[1141] Jay's was established by William Chickall Jay in 1841 on the southwest corner of Oxford Circus, at Numbers 247, 249, and 251 Regent Street. This work was completed in 1856.

[1142] *English Cyclopedia,* pp. 646-7, 1856. Jay's occupied premises at 247, 249, 251 Regent Street (now demolished). Alison Adburgham, *Shops and Shopping: 1800-1914,* London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., p. 65.

[1143] Michael Darby notes that this drawing "was probably no. 123 in the Exhibition of Jones's Works, and no. 32 in the Sale of his Drawings when it was bought by 'Handcock.'" Darby Dissertation, Footnote #249, p. 486.

[1144] *Building News,* May 17, 1861, pp. 412-414.

New Bond Street and 4 Little Bruton Street which Jones may have also designed, since Exhibit #4 for "Plans and Elevation of Shops and cottages. Designed for Mr. Hancock," and Number 150, "Plan and elevation of shop designed for Mr. Hancock," were included along with Number 123, "Ceiling of Mr. Hancock's Showroom, Bruton Street," in the 1874 Exhibition of Owen Jones's Works. Typically, Jones also produced designs for his client's products; in this case, he collaborated with the sculptor, Monti, on designs for silver trophies Hancock's executed in 1867 and 1868.[1145]

In 1862, he redecorated premises in Grosvenor Street, Grosvenor Square, for Collard and Collard, the esteemed piano manufacturers. They had acquired the spacious town residence of the late Duke of Rutland and commissioned Jones to transform this urban mansion into showrooms and a concert facility. *The Illustrated London News* described the building, saying that "the prevailing style of architecture is the mixed Italian. The effect is very imposing; indeed, in passing through these noble apartments, the impression left on the mind is much as might be excited by the classic mansions of Italy."[1146] They provided the following summary of the redecoration:

> The ceilings, designed by the celebrated brothers Adam, are alone worth a visit of inspection by connoisseurs of the decorative art, the judicious application of colour, under the masterly supervision of Owen Jones, having greatly brought out and enhanced their original beauties. Indeed, the peculiar style of enrichment which is now associated with the name of this eminent architect is here seen to great advantage; for while the tints employed offer in themselves the most violent contrasts the most perfect harmony and repose reign throughout, and the ensemble is at once rich and appropriate.[1147]

The "magnificent saloon" appropriated for a concert-room also received praise and the assessment that "there is no saloon in the metropolis better adapted, from its

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[1145]Darby Dissertation, p.443.
[1146]*The Illustrated London News*, p. 122.
[1147]*Ibid.*

acoustic properties, for musical effect, while the arrangements as to light and ventilation are perfect."[1148]

Pevsner describes the results of Jones's exterior alteration of 16 Grosvenor Street as "very simple and restrained." He classified the scheme as "early Georgian, five bays wide, with quoins and a gently projecting top cornice," plus "a shallow porch with four Corinthian pilasters."[1149] Jones designed other exteriors, including the front of 36-38 Oxford Street, the premises occupied by Jackson & Graham [Figure 161], the decorating firm who created the furniture, carpets, and other furnishings for many of the commissions mentioned earlier.[1150] He also prepared the signature elevation for the business premises of James and George Haywood in Irongate, Derby (1870-1871), cast iron manufacturers [Figure 162]. *The Architect* illustrated his plan for this exterior, indicating a wide range of ornamental motifs combined in a balanced composition.[1151] This lay-out was also singled out as an important example of Victorian architecture in J. Mordaunt Crook's, *Victorian Architecture: A Visual Anthology.* [1152]

Jones's exterior and interior designs for fine retail establishments, like his exhibition designs, demonstrate his ability to develop original and effective schemes to meet social changes and new building needs. Retailers of luxury items recognized his ability to create unique environments that would enhance their products and entice visitors to their showrooms. From the "charming and magical effects" he achieved in the Crystal Palace Bazaar[1153] to the "splendid emporium" which he

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[1148]*Ibid.*

[1149]Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London and Westminster,* Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1957, p. 515. I grateful to Robert Craig, Ph.D., for checking this citation in his copy of the third edition printed in 1989, p. 586.

[1150]Prints and Drawings, Royal Institute of British Architects, has a copy of this drawing.

[1151]*The Architect,* Vol. vii, May 18, 1872, 256b.

[1152]Crook, *Victorian Architecture: A Visual Anthology,* New York and London, Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1971, Pl. 252.

[1153]*The Building News,* October 1, 1858, p. 980.

created for Collard & Collard, his designs were appreciated for producing "commercial house[s] of the first magnitude."[1154] He also designed opulent products to be sold in many of these establishments. The variety of items and materials ranged from glass objects for Osler's, silver trophies for Hancock's, pianos and stands for Messrs. Collard and Chappell, and all types of decorative furnishings for Jackson and Graham.

Jones's experience in creating magnificent interiors on a huge scale at reasonable cost, made him an obvious choice to invent interesting arrangements for the Langham and Charing Cross Hotels, two of the luxury hotels being built in London during the early eighteen-sixties in an attempt to produce public accommodations "worthy of the place, and corresponding to the vastness of modern demands."[1155] The "Langham was not only one of the first erected, but...remained one of the most important."[1156] The architects were Messrs. Giles and Murray; Jones designed the interior decoration and Jackson & Graham produced the furnishings.

Although the site at the junction of Portland Place and Langham Place offered the advantages of the unusual width of Portland Place and views of Regent's Park, the decision to build a hotel in this location was bold.[1157] Robert Thorne, former Director of English Heritage, notes that "almost all the new hotels put up in London in the early Victorian period were sited beside the main railway stations on whose

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1154*The Illustrated London News*, p. 122.

1155*The British Hotel through the Ages*, p. 190.

1156*Ibid.*

1157The address was the Langham Hotel, Portland Place: 14-15, Langham Place; 2-14 Cavendish Place, London, W.1., City of Westminster. The hotel ceased operation during World War II, after being bombed twice. After the War, the BBC took over the parts which were undamaged. Later, the Metal Box Company rented space in the building; but since 1956, the BBC has been the sole occupant. Robert Thorne, Unpublished report on "The Langham Hotel" prepared for the Greater London Council, Department of Architecture and Civic Design-Historic Buildings Division, November, 1982, p. 1 and p. 6.

traffic they depended."[1158] A decision to build a hotel on the Portland Place site was made, however, and a limited liability company was established in 1862 to finace the venture. A competition was held for the design and, in typical Victorian fashion, the winning architect, John Giles, was persuaded to join with James Murray, another competitor, who had produced interiors which the committee liked.[1159] The Earl of Shrewsbury, Chairman of the company of shareholders, laid the foundation stone in July 1863, and the hotel was opened, without being fully furnished, two years later.[1160]

The six-storey, 300-room hotel cost approximately *L*300,000 to construct and furnish and represented one of the largest buildings in London. The Portland Place facade was 200 feet long and 120 feet high.[1161] The internal organization followed the American precedent of providing both single-rooms and suites, plus large public rooms and the latest amenities, including lifts and convenient facilities for hygiene and bathing: 36 bathrooms and 100 lavatories.[1162] The public spaces included an enormous dining room one hundred feet in length and fifty feet wide, three coffee rooms (one nearly fifty feet square), an Ambassador's audience room, a company board room, plus several smoking and billiard rooms. The style, which the *Building News*" found "bold and picturesque," followed the eclecticism which Thorne describes as "a reconciliation of existing styles...using basic classical forms but invigorating them by bolder modelling and the introduction of Gothic decoration."[1163]

Jones's decorations drew mixed approval. *The Building News* described most of the polychromatic decorations as "very successful in colour" and as being

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[1158]*Ibid.*, p. 1. Robert Thorne also records the the Westminster Palace Hotel (1858) as "the one major example before the Langham to be sited away from a railway terminus," p. 1.
[1159]*Ibid.*, p. 2.
[1160]*Ibid.*
[1161]*The British Hotel through the Ages,* p. 190
[1162]Pevsner, *A History of Building Types, pp. 173-189.*
[1163]Thorne, "The Langham," p. 2.

composed of "diapers of that late Mooresque character which Mr. Owen Jones...especially affects in his ornament. The appearance of the rooms thus decorated is very novel and striking, and their affect is further enhanced by a judicious assortments [sic] of tints in the various carpets, which have evidently also been designed expressly for the situation."[1164] *The Times* objected to the scheme for the dining room, criticizing "the miserable ill taste which has disfigured the room with rows of massive chocolate covered columns."[1165] No visual evidence of this commission remains, however, to allow an independent assessment.[1166]

Jones also executed decorations in E. M. Barry's Charing Cross Hotel (1863-1864). Again, he elected dark colors to decorate the piers in one of the main dining spaces: the railway refreshment room. *The Builder* described this scheme, saying: "The greater portion of the height of the walls and piers has received a very dark tone of colour,--the plinths, indeed, being black; whilst the upper portion of the walls and the ceiling are decorated with paperhangings of Mr. Jones's designs." The writer considered the paperhangings inferior to the ornamentation on the piers, however, "which, besides good design, has all the precision and delicacy of workmanship which Mr. Owen Jones is so well able to secure." The article continues: "The piers and walls above the plinths are an Indian red, the ornament upon those parts being ochre-colour, as are also the mouldings of the bases." The ceiling over the main portion of the room was divided into nine square compartments containing diapered-patterns. The soffits of the beams were ornamented with frets and painted in a pattern dominated by crimson and blue.[1167]

[1164] *The Building News*, June 16, 1863, p. 422.
[1165] Darby Dissertation, p. 428.
[1166] Michael Darby notes that the Langham was redecorated in 1882 and later converted to offices for the use of the British Broadcasting Corporation. *Ibid.*
[1167] *The Builder*, December 24, 1864, p. 931 and Jack Simmons, *St. Pancras Station*, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., p. 48.

In *British Railway Hotels 1838-1983,* Oliver Carter reports that both Jones and E. M. Barry were responsible for the decoration of the dining room.[1168] This design featured dark piers and columns, light mouldings and a grand ceiling with a shallow coffered saucer dome and rich architectural embellishment. This work was carried out by Jackson and Graham, the firm who had the commission for the decoration and furnishing of the entire property [Figure 163].

In 1865, Jones participated in the invitational competition for the design of the station buildings and hotel for the Midland Railway's London terminus: St. Pancras Station.[1169] On January 13, 1866, *The Builder* reported the results of the competition, stating that Mr. G. G. Scott was awarded the erection of the building and three of the other entrants were to receive financial prizes. These architects and premiums included 200*l.* to Mr. G. S. Clarke, 100*l.* to E. M. Barry, and 50*l.* to Mr. T. C. Sorby. The other competitors were listed as: Messrs. C. P. Cockerell,[1170] H. A. Darbishire, Lockwood & Mawson [Bradford], Hines & Evans [Nottingham], Walters & Co. [Manchester], Lloyd [probablyHenry Lloyd of Bristol], and Mr. Owen Jones.[1171]

This contest was the only competition held to select the design for a railway building of importance in London and was not without problems and criticism. The controversy focused on the fact that Scott's winning design substantially exceeded the instructions to the participants, resulting in an unfair comparison of the final proposals. One of the entrants, Somers Clarke called attention to this situation in a letter to the *Builder* in which he stated that: "the addition of two extra stories of

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[1168]Oliver Carter, *British Railway Hotels 1838-1983,* St. Michael's, Lancashire, Silver Link Publishing, 1990, p. 56.

[1169]Jones exhibited three of his drawings for this competition at the Architectural Exhibition in London [*The Builder,* May 5, 1866]. These may be the same three drawings dealing with this subject auctioned by Sotheby's in the sale of his Original Drawings and Professional Sketches held on June 19, 1876. Sotheby's catalogue for the sale, p. 5.

[1170]C. P. Cockerell was the second son of C. R. Cockerell. Simmons, p. 48.

[1171]*The Builder,* 1865, p. 896 and Jan. 13, 1866, p. 33.

bedrooms to a building of 600 ft. frontage must necessarily give it a vast advantage in dignity and importance of effect over one of less altitude, providing less accommodation." He also called attention to the fact that "the extent of accommodation, involving as it does the ultimate cost of a building, is of such primary importance to shareholders in a commercial undertaking, that it ought not to be left to the individual discretion of the competitors themselves, as in this case."[1172] Jack Simmons, author of *St. Pancras Station*, acknowledges the strength of Clarke's argument pointing out that Scott's entry exceeded the second highest estimate by 50,000*l.* The estimates submitted were as follows: Scott, *L*316,000; Hine & Evans, *L*255,000; Sorby, *L*245,000; Barry, *L*236,487; Walters & Barker, *L*190,000; Jones, *L*187,000; Clarke, *L*164,500; Cockerell, *L*155,000; Lloyd, *L*150,000; Lockwood & Mawson, *L*135,792l; Darbishire, no estimate.[1173] Since Scott was later forced to make modifications, including the elimination of one floor of the hotel and two floors of the station's offices to reduce expenses, the criticism that Scott had overstated the project to win the competition seems appropriate.

Another disparity which has been overlooked is the fact that the conditions of the competition which stipulated "that the hotel should be placed on the western side of the site, and that the design for the vast roof of the terminus, in one span, supplied by the engineer Mr. Barlow, should be adopted by, and introduced into the design on the central and eastern sides of the site, by all the competitors." Jones, described as "among the most distinguished of the competitors," was the only entrant who made the hotel subsidiary to the train shed [Figure 164]; the others, like Cockerell, created uniform compositions by concealing the roof of the station, and creating "a facade, that looks more like the buildings for a new university than a railway terminus."[1174] *The Builder* described Jones's work, saying his proposal

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[1172]Simmons, p.49.
[1173]*Ibid.*
[1174]*The Builder,* May 5, 1866, p. 318.

"boldly grapples with the engineer's design, and assuming for the nonce to be *Ingegnere-architetto*, he brings the vast span of the roof to the front, and, placing it between two towers, makes it (though in a more ornamental manner) like the terminus at King's Cross, and the Strasbourg Railway in Paris, at once the prominent and leading feature of the frontage." The writer concluded that by avoiding the opportunity to treat the great railway roof architecturally, the other architects had made a great mistake.[1175] (The Directors of the company chose Scott's design, however, so for him it was not a bad decision).

The next year (1866), Jones collaborated with R. M. Ordish, the engineer, on the designs for an elaborate cast iron kiosk originally intended for shipment to India. The Messrs. Handyside & Company of Derby made and temporarily erected the 80 foot long by 40 foot wide and 42 foot high structure on the grounds of the Royal Horticultural Society at South Kensington.[1176] Both the *Builder* and *The Building News* printed engravings of this "great masterpiece of prefabrication"[1177] [Figures 165 and 166] and agreed that the kiosk was "the most remarkable specimen of ornamental ironwork yet erected."[1178]

Both publications also noted the way the bed plates had been extended ten feet under the flooring to provide adequate resistance to the strain from the weight of the roof. This innovation meant that Jones was able to produce an open and airy design above and that the roof was entirely supported on the peripheral columns leaving an uninterrupted interior space. The construction of the roof presented another unique feature. *The Building News* recognized that the roof ribs sprang diagonally from the top of the columns similar to the springing of the roof ribs in St.James's Hall; there was, however, an important difference in the two buildings. Jones used surface

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1175*Ibid.*
1176*Builder,* Dec. 1, 1866, p. 885.
1177Philip Davies, *Splendous of the Raj, British Architecture in India 1660 to 1947,* London, John Murray, 1985, p. 169.
1178*Builder* and *The Building News,* August 25, 1866.

decoration in the concert hall, but the kiosk's decoration was totally structural.[1179] The intersection of the roof ribs divided the roof into equal squares and the *Builder* described the way the ribs were dovetailed together as "ingenious."[1180] The *Builder* also said the open arabesque work showed what could be done when cast iron was well executed and recommended that the kiosk was "well worth a visit" for readers interested in iron work.[1181]

The structure was erected in South Kensington in 1866 and in 1869, it was put up for auction. The brochure giving the particulars of "this eminently noble and most graceful structure" explained that "the magnificent iron kiosk" had been designed by Mr. Owen Jones and Mr. R. M. Ordish, and "executed in England, with a sumptuous disregard of cost [180 tons of cast iron at *L18* per ton], in compliance with the order of a wealthy Native Merchant of India; but, under peculiar and exceptional circumstances, it was never delivered for shipment."[1182] The brochure noted that "each section being fitted and dovetailed together" allowed the structure to "be taken apart with facility, and re-erected at a trifling expense."[1183] The brochure also explained that the sides could easily be fitted with sash, turning it into a lecture hall or chapel, and if left open, it would be an appropriate pavilion for an ornamental pleasure ground or public park, a conservatory, orangery, or a "saloon for dancing, dejeuners, fetes, or any other Al Fresco Entertainments."[1184] In addition, if moved to a hot climate, it would serve as a "most luxurious Billiard or Summer Room."[1185]

[1179] *Ibid.*
[1180] *Ibid.*
[1181] *Ibid.*
[1182] Auction brochure, Edmund Robins, London, July 7, 1869.
[1183] *Ibid.*
[1184] *Ibid.*
[1185] The location of this structure is unknown.

In 1867, a change in government policy resulted in the decision to hold an "invited competition" for the design of the National Gallery. This competition, modelled on the contests for the Albert Memorial (1864) and for St. Pancras Station (1865), was to be "limited to a hand-picked selection of able architects, each paid a fee for his design." William Cowper (1811-1888), First Commissioner of Works, wrote to Parliament saying:

> Under more ordinary circumstances I might be content to submit the formation of the plan to the Architect of this Office [Pennethorne], but in this instance there are such special difficulties to be met and overcome that I am unwilling to restrict myself to the aid of a single architect however able he may be and it will be expedient to invoke the assistance of several of the most eminent and experienced architects in order to provide the materials for a careful consideration of the alternatives that may be adopted as to enable the Government and parliament to come to a deliberate and sound judgment on the subject.[1186]

Discussions concerning the relocation or rebuilding of the National Gallery had started as early as 1844, but the Commons had rejected the alternative sites proposed. Finally, in August, 1865, Parliament authorized funds to purchase the adjoining land north of the National Gallery. Cowper asked Pennethorne to prepare plans and sections of the new site to enable solicited architects to consider how an extension might be married to the existing structure.

Cowper asked six architects to submit two proposals each: the first for an entirely new building and the second for a remodeling of Wilkin's existing building (1832-1838). The chosen architects were given three months to produce their work, but the schedule was quickly extended until October 31. In addition, Cowper doubled the number of architects invited when he was compelled to increase the size of the competitive field for the design of the New Law Courts.[1187]

[1186]M. H. Port, *Imperial London: Civil Government Building in London 1850-1915*, new Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1995, p. 175.

[1187]Twelve architects were invited, but only the following participated: Owen Jones; Brodrick; G. E. Street; F. P. Cockerell; J. Murray; E. M. Barry; F. C. Penrose; G. S. Clarke;

Each entrant in the National Galley competition was to receive a fee of *L*200, which one of the judges, W. Tite, felt would barely cover the cost of the necessary supplies and framing. The competitors also received the warning that "the First Commissioner does not engage himself to adopt any of the designs that may be sent in, but if one of the designs be adopted, the author of it will be employed to carry it into effect, and will be paid the usual commission of 5 per cent on the outlay."[1188]

Beyond this point, the instructions were full of ambiguities and contradictions. For example, the programme was "to design an architecturally distinguished building fit for 'the finest site in Europe' that should be 'specially adapted for the exhibition of pictures.'" The architects were supplied with the site measurements: 230 feet on one side and 170 feet on the other, with information on the space required for the receipt, cleaning, and storing of pictures and other administrative tasks, and with information on Fowke's Sheepshanks Gallery at South Kensington. They were told to use top-lighting, but then informed that the number and size of rooms and the method of lighting was left to their individual judgment. They were also reminded of the requirements that "the gallery had to accommodate crowds of holiday-makers and yet provide for the 'repose and concentration of mind required for the study of art.'"[1189]

The judges for the competition were not appointed until November 1866, and, when in place found themselves incapable of coping with the ambiguous instructions.[1190] They wrote to the new First Commissioner, Lord John Manners, for guidance; he responded that their primary concerns should be the suitability of the proposals and the architectural elevations. He told them to ignore the issue of

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M. D. Wyatt; Banks & Barry. Harper, *Victorian Competitions,* p. 96. The two invitees who did not participate were G. G. Scott and S. Smirke. *The Builder,* May 1, 1866, p. 354.

[1188]Port, p. 175.

[1189]*Ibid.*

[1190]The judges included: Viscount Hardinge; Lord Elcho; A. J. B. Beresford-Hope; W. Tite; W. Russell; W. Boxall; D. Brandon; T. Gambier Parry; R. Redgrave. Harper, p. 96.

cost and assured them that they were "at liberty...to refrain from recommending any one of the competing designs for adoption." The judges acted, declaring no winner based on the fact that "the late Commissioner of Works" had drawn up such an impossible set of conditions, the judges were bound to decide that the race was null and void." Tite pronounced the "'drawings of eminent beauty and excellent as works of high art', but not suitable for a National Gallery."[1191]

The *Building News* and other periodicals took an opposing position saying that they found it "impossible to concede the merit of true architecture" to any of the submissions. The contestants sent a letter protesting the cancellation of the results of the competition to Lord John Manners, but he maintained that there had been no promise that one of the competitors would be selected, and he refused to change his position. On February 28, 1867, the judges announced that they were not prepared to recommend any of the designs for adoption, but they singled out Edward Barry's design for a new gallery and Mr. Murray's design for adapting the existing gallery "as exhibiting the greatest amount of architectural merit." Protest continued for a year and finally, on June 16, 1868, the Office of Works announced that E. M. Barry was the architect chosen to design the new National Gallery.[1192]

Jones had submitted the two designs requested: Design A for an entirely new building with an estimated cost of *L* 375,000 and Design B for an addition to the existing building projected at *L* 95,500. To communicate Design A, he submitted plans of the ground and first floors, plus an elevation of each exterior. He also provided transverse sections through the center of the proposed building,

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[1191] *Ibid.*, pp. 175-176.

[1192] Barry was notified in a letter from the Office of the Works dated June 26, 1868. Barry started on additions to the existing gallery and had completed one half of the back portion of his plans by July 1876. Problems with the government's refusal to demolish the workhouse on the site delayed the project and a note on Barry's payment said that about one-sixth of the work had been completed and there was "no present intention of rebuilding the gallery." "In January 1880 Barry died, and the project was finally dropped after some further minor alterations in 1884 by Sir J. Taylor. *RIBA Drawings Collection,* p. 55.

longitudinal sections through the courts and the galleries, and a Diagram of Design A. compared with [the] Present National Gallery." In addition, he entered two views: one of the South-front and one of Trafalgar Square.

In addition to these conventional materials, he tried a new approach to communicate his proposal. This involved the submission of two photographs. The first showed the existing gallery in Trafalgar Square and the second exhibited his scheme superimposed on the existing building. Unfortunately, reaction to this technique did not work in his favor, since the *Times* remarked that "the existing gallery does not suffer in comparison. Judging by the photographs, we cannot help asking why should we pull down the old building of Wilkins to make way for the new one of Mr. Jones?"[1193] The *Building News* and the *Athenaeum* both found problems with the scale in Jones's design; the *Building News* said it appeared smaller than the existing building when, in fact, it was larger, and the *Athenaeum* found "nothing in its exterior either striking for itself or proper to a picture gallery."[1194]

A reviewer describing the exterior had the usual difficulty "in productions possessing originality and art-character, the decorative expression and details of this design cannot easily be stated in words," but found the overall character to be a variation on the Italian. The front was divided into seven sections. Three of these sections were projecting pavilions, two sections recessed on either side of the central pavilion, and the ends contributed the terminal sections. Six sections were covered by a hipped roof; the exception was the center section which indicated the roof-covering of the rotunda below. The fact that the roofs were the same height was considered a weakness by one observer.

This same reviewer said that "the character of the front is mainly resultant from the details." The facade consisted of a "podium-base, two stories of modified

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[1193]Darby Dissertation, p. 409.
[1194]*Ibid.*

orders...and an attic filled in with large panels for sculpture, whilst the piers between are terminated by anthemions." The lower order was composed of panelled pilasters, and the upper one of columns clustered with pilasters. Windows on the lower story were square-headed with "moulded and enriched splays, and sills...carried by a peculiar feature including two bracket-forms placed parallel with the wall-line, instead of projecting from it." The upper story windows had "sub-arches, carried by an elongated baluster-mullion in the centre." The reviewer said there was "much good ornament in the panels of the pilasters, and in the friezes of both orders, especially where anthemions are introduced." Jones followed the instructions, submitting only uncolored illustrations, but his written documentation explained his intention of using varied color terra cotta and colored marble on the south and east fronts.

Jones stressed simplicity, functionality, and circulation in his plan for a new gallery. His scheme offered the advantage of being built in distinct sections, a good strategy for a large commission dependent upon funding appropriations and long construction schedules. This presented the options of erecting all of the new service and support facililties with the existing gallery still in tact or beginning by demolishing the old exhibition space and constructing the new.

The circulation plan routed visitors from the Entrance Hall to the left, through the Galleries, and back to the Entrance Hall. With this tour complete, visitors climbed the stairs to the Gallery Level and completed a circuit of the Galleries. Administrative facilities were provided in the north-west section of structure in a block which measured 95 feet by 51.6 feet. Heating and other utilities were planned for the basement of this space. The Keeper was required to live on the premises and Jones placed the official residence in the centre of the north front, enabling the Keeper to command both the galleries and "the other departments requiring his

supervision." Service rooms and accommodations for police and attendants were placed in the corners of the interior courts.[1195]

Jones maintained that the use of side-lighting on the ground floor was the key-note of his design. He expressed the opinion that "a facade without windows would be like the human face without eyes, and be void of all expression." Moreover, he believed that sidelighting offered more display space since pictures could be exhibited on screens placed at right angles to the windows and the number of screens and the spacing could be changed as required.[1196]

Jones took an unusual position in Design B, leaving the present National Gallery exactly as it was. He based his decision on the belief that "it is as difficult for one architect to alter the work of another as to forge handwriting; and if the building is to remain, it had better, he thinks, remain as it is--a record of the state of the art of architecture at the time of its creation."[1197] For the facilities he planned to add to the existing building, he said he followed the same principles as in Design A.

Many of the other designs for this competition are extant, but the location of Jones's design is unknown. This project does not seem to be one of his best efforts, however; his written text is brief and perfunctory in comparison with the others. Perhaps his competition history made him a less than enthusiastic participant, but if that was the case, one wonders why he made the effort to participate. Perhaps the *Building News* was right when in condemning all of the designs, they dismissed Jones's entries with the remark that "the less said the better."[1198]

[1195]Owen Jones, *Designs for the Proposed Enlargement of the National Gallery.*

[1196]"The Bays of the Building being fifteen feet from centre to centre, would admit of a screen opposite every pier; but at first this might not, perhaps, be necessary, and they might be placed every alternate Bay: in fact, grouped in many ways, according to the size and nature of the drawings, or pictures to be exhibited." *Ibid.*

[1197]*Ibid.*

[1198]Darby Dissertation, p. 405.

Jones also designed town and country residences for members of the aristocracy and other successful Victorians who sought his genius and stature. His residential clients ranged from the successful piano manufacturer, Charles Lukey Collard, to the literary and cerebral couple of George Eliot (Mary Anne Evans) and George Henry Lewes, to the Viceroy of Egypt.[1199] For Collard, he created Abbotsfield, near Wiveliscombe, Somerset, "Where Wagner played and Patti sang."[1200] Michael Darby describes Abbotsfield, near Wiiveliscombe, in Somerset, as "a dour and uninteresting house, never completed as Jones originally intended."[1201]

The scheme for Eliot and Lewes did not involve the design of a new house, but the redecoration of principal rooms in "the Priory," a house the writers purchased in August, 1863.[1202] They asked "Lewes's old friend Owen Jones, the architect" to manage the decoration and furnishing of the principal rooms.[1203] "He designed a beautiful wallpaper for the drawing-room, chose elegant carpets and draperies and sconces, ruthlessly discarded all their drawing-room furniture and bought new."[1204]

Lewes was the author of periodicals and books dealing with philosophy; but, his most famous work was two volumes on the *Life of Goethe.* His *Biographical History of Philosophy* is of interest here, however, since that text indicates Lewes's

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[1199]Although Abbotsfield still exists, Michael Darby's research indicates that the interior has undergone extensive alteration.

[1200]Girouard, *Victorian Country House,* p. 13.

[1201]Darby Dissertation, p. 368.

[1202]The 49-year lease was purchased for 2,000*L*. The house was located in Regent's Park at 21 North Bank, St. John's Wood.

[1203] Although the nature and extent of the earlier relationship between Jones and this pair of writers is unclear, they obviously knew each other. Lewes had contributed an essay to Jones's *Apology for the Colouring of the Greek Court* a decade earlier and apparently visited Jones regularly. Mrs. Jones was the first to recognize Lewes's romantic interest in Mary Ann (Marian Evans, also known as George Eliot). Gordon S. Haight, *George Eliot: A Biography,* Oxford, London, and New York, Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 371.

Later, Eliot contributed a brief notice about the new edition of Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* to Lewes's *Fortnightly Review*, see pages 240-241 in this dissertation for a discussion of that review. Haight, *George Eliot: A Biography,* p. 380.

[1204]*Ibid.*, p. 371.

belief in Positivism. He declared that "philosophy aspires to the knowledge of essences and causes; science limits itself to the knowledge of powers, co-existences, and successions." For this reason, he maintained that "science is all which is permitted to man"; as a result, his book was intended to nullify all philosophical systems, except for Positivism, "till at last, in the doctrine of Comte, all inquiry is limited to such objects as admit of verification in one way or another."[1205] George Eliot was also a Positivist and the friendship between Jones, Lewes, and Eliot suggests intellectual compatibility and common beliefs.[1206]

Regrettably, plans and sketches of this commission have not been identified, but extracts from journal entries and letters written by Lewes and the author of *Middlemarch* and *Silas Marner* offer rare glimpses into the personal seriousness of Jones, his dedication to his craft, and his effect on clients. Lewes's journal entry of November 1, 1863, written during the period of redecoration, reports that "Owen Jones kindly undertook to decorate the drawing room and dining room for us, and has made a very exquisite thing of it; only in the pursuit of artistic effect, he has drawn us into serious expense, sacrificing our drawing room furniture, and causing new furniture to be bought."[1207] A further lament appears in the entry for November 13 when Lewes describes the events of moving into the premises: "The [piano] tuner was sick over our elegant drawing room paper, which Owen Jones had decorated, and over the carpet! This obliges us to have fresh paper made, as there are no remnants of the old, and it was originally made for us...Still, in spite of annoyances, we are highly delighted with the house now we are in it."[1208]

Marian's correspondence states:

[1205]*The Westminster Review,* CXXXV, (American Edition), January, 1858, p. 136.
[1206]J. W. Cross, ed., *George Eliot's Life as Related in Her Letters and Journals,*3 vols. Arranged and Edited by Her Husband, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1885, p. 221.
[1207]*The George Eliot Letters,* edited by Gordon S. Haight, New Haven, Yale University Press, p. 111.
[1208]*Ibid.*, p. 112.

> Mr. Owen Jones has been unwearied in taking trouble that everything about us may be pretty...He stayed two nights till after twelve o'clock, that he might see every engraving hung in the right place; and as you know I care even more about the fact of kindness than its effects, you will understand that I enjoy being grateful for all this friendliness on our behalf.

In another letter, she recorded that he had seen to every detail, "so that we can have the pleasure of admiring what is our own without vanity."[1209] Another letter described the housewarming held on November 24 to a friend saying: "you would perhaps have been amused to see an affectionate friend of yours, splendid in grey moire antique--the consequence of a severe lecture from Owen Jones on her general neglect of personal adornment."[1210] It is interesting to note that nine years later, a journal entry of Lewes reveals that he had found Marian in "'deep consultation' with Owen Jones--recalling his advice on her antique grey *moire*' in 1863."[1211]

Another important client, Ismail Pacha, Khedive (Viceroy) of Egypt from 1863-1879, commissioned Jones to design fifteen rooms for a palace in Gesch, a northern suburb of Cairo, which was to serve as the guest palace for the European dignitaries attending the celebrations to mark the opening of de Lessep's Suez Canal in 1869.[1212] In this capacity, "it housed European monarchs, including the Empress Eugenie, wife of Napoleon III, and it was...the venue of the first performance of Verdi's Opera *Aida*" in 1871.[1213] Julius Franz, a German architect, was responsible

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[1209] *Ibid.*, p. 373.

[1210] Gordon S. Haight, *George Eliot: A Biography,* Oxford, London, New York, Oxford University Press, p. 442.

[1211] *Ibid.*

[1212] The palace exists in an altered state today as the Marriott Hotel in Cairo.

[1213] *History of the Palace,* Cairo Marriott Hotel & Casino. I am grateful to Ronald B. Lewcock for photographing the Palace in December, 1995, and for bringing me this history.

for the building and Carl von Diebitsch, another German architect, (1819-1869) decorated the northern interiors.[1214]

Recent research on Von Diebitsch provides information which may explain some enigmas with regard to Jones's relationship with Ismail Pacha and his work in Cairo.[1215] Von Diebitsch (1819-1869) was an architect of the Schinkel School who shared an appreciation for Islamic architecture with Jones. The German architect, like his English counterpart, travelled to Spain, studied the Alhambra for six months and found it an inspirational source for his future work.[1216] Von Diebitsch became one of the western architects intent upon marketing the Islamic style to foreign clients, particularly clients in the Arab world. He met members of the wealthy Egyptian aristocracy during the 1862 Exhibition held in London and they invited him to Alexandria and Cairo. He took up their invitations which resulted in his first Egyptian commissions.[1217]

The German faced stiff competition with the French and Italians who were well-established in this lucrative market and "were firmly resolved to defend their part of it, if necessary by unscrupulous means."[1218] Von Diebitsch thought he stood "a good chance of success if he could offer his services faster and cheaper than any other entrepeneur."[1219] In order to accomplish this, he planned the complete fabrication of the furniture, draperies, and other items for his Cairo projects in Berlin. The completed wares were shipped from Berlin to Trieste by train, transported to Alexandria by boat, and then loaded on trains for Cairo. The

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[1214]Letter from Mohammad al-Asad to Carol Flores dated August 31, 1995, lists Julius Franz, De Curel Del Rosso, and Carl von Diebitsch as architects associated with the building; *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World* records Julius Franz as the architect.
[1215]I am again grateful to Dr. Lewcock for making me aware of and providing me information regarding the exhibition entitled *A Prussian Palace in Egypt,* held in the Museum of Egyptian Modern Arts, Oct. 16 - Nov. 13, 1993.
[1216]Catalogue for the *A Prussian Palace in Egypt* Exhibit, pp. 11-12.
[1217]*Ibid.*
[1218]*Ibid, p. 12.*
[1219]*Ibid.*

prefabricated parts could then be assembled quickly and easily, "so that a rich and splendid creation could be erected with utmost speed."[1220]

This appears to be the same strategy that Jones adopted, and it is impossible to know which gentleman devised the scheme first. The "Khedive kept up a lively spirit of competition" among architects to satisfy the passion for building which eventually bankrupted him. His relationship with Von Diebitsch began in 1863, with the commission for a room in the Al Jazirah palace. He promised the German that if he was successful in executing this project, he would receive a contract for another room. "In this way the German architect succeeded in getting responsibility for the whole north wing of the palace and the state rooms in the kiosk."[1221] The kiosk was one of the amazing structures erected in the gardens of the Al Jazirah complex from four hundred tons of cast iron prefabricated in the Lauchhammer foundry in Germany.[1222]

It is not clear how Jones received the commission for fifteen rooms, but he described the commission as the triumph of his life. He worked over eighteen hours a day for three months preparing the designs to be executed in London and assembled in Cairo. His method included the use of an independent multiple determined by the proportions of each room as the basis for designing every element of the space's furnishing and decoration. This technique resembled the approach he adopted in combining interlocking geometric shapes in his tile configurations and in devising tools for bookbinding for De La Rue.[1223]

The Builder reported that Jones showed "complete mastery of the principles and knowledge of the details of Arabic art...in the production of fifteen series...applicable as dadoes, dado mouldings, walls, friezes, frieze mouldings, the

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[1220]*Ibid.*
[1221]*Ibid.*, p. 16.
[1222]*Ibid.*, pp. 11-16.
[1223]Darby Dissertation, pp. 429-430.

different sections of cornice mouldings and ceilings, in a style as perfect and exact as is exemplified in the tombs of the caliph in Old Cairo."[1224] When completed, contemporary guides informed travellers that the Palace contained "magnificently furnished and decorated reception-rooms" and articles of furniture which were "beautiful works of art."[1225] Some of this furniture was exhibited in the International Exposition in Paris in 1867 and is described as having Moorish ornamentation in the woodworking details.[1226] In addition, Jackson and Graham exhibited many of Jones's drawings for the project in the Exhibition of his Works after his death.

Unfortunately, the record and drawings of this important commission have not been found. Michael Darby has identified two designs for portions of friezes labeled *VPC,* which could indicate the Viceroy's Palace Cairo, in The Victoria and Albert Museum. He has also noted that designs purchased from Catherine Jones, the architect's sister, and "catalogued as being for the Viceroy's palace do not appear to relate to the building decorated by Jackson and Graham. These depict two schemes for a small detached building with central dome and elaborate plaster work interiors, and a rectangular garden surrounded by an open colonnade. The drawings are inscribed in French and dated August 1861."[1227] Darby describes these drawings as follows: "One wall forms an abutment against water, and one wonders whether the building might have been intended as an elaborate garden pavilion, or, since steps lead down into the water as a bathing kiosk."[1228] These designs may have been Jones's competition entries into "the most ambitious state commission available in Egypt under the Khedive (viceroy) Ismail Pasha: the gardens of Al

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[1224]*The Builder,* May 9, 1874, p. 385
[1225]*A Handbook For Travellers in Egypt,* London, John Murray, 1875, p. 143.
[1226]Jespersen proposal, p. 2.
[1227]Darby Dissertation, pp. 430-431.
[1228]*Ibid.*

Jazirah with a complex of various buildings."[1229] At this point, it is impossible to know if Jones was successful. The recent work on Von Diebitsch indicates that he did not execute all of the buildings in the garden and Jones carried out other projects for Ismail Pasha, including the decoration of his carriage.[1230]

The absence of documentation on Jones's architecture leaves the recently restored rooms in No. 16 Carlton House Terrace, London, and the drawings for Eynsham Hall, Oxfordshire, as the best examples of the residential commissions which Jones completed during the last decade of his life. These two projects are of interest for the patrons they served as well as for the scope of Jones's work. Alfred Morrison, of Fonthill House and 16 Carlton House Terrace, was a substantial patron of the arts, while James Mason, of Eynsham Hall, was an esteemed man of science. The breadth of Jones's interests and talents made him an obvious choice for both men, and the commissions he completed for them demonstrate his ability to produce works of great variety and distinction.

Jones had produced other work for the Morrison family before his work in 16 Carlton House Terrace.[1231] He produced the designs for an ornamental cottage and dairy for James Morrison which he exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1845, described earlier, and redecoration in Fonthill House, Wiltshire, for his son, Alfred. In 1848, James had commissioned Wyatt and Brandon to erect Fonthill House by the lake in the Fonthill park, on the site of Beckford's "Fonthill Splendens." Alfred inherited the house along with a fortune worth several million pounds; he increased this inheritance through the management of Morrison and Dillon, the first department store in London, by concentrating on yielding a large volume of small profits instead of a few large ones. Alfred "had a large and fine collection of Chinese

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[1229] *A Prussian Palace,* Exhibition catalogue, p. 11.
[1230] *The Illustrated London News,* 1856.
[1231] See Clive Wainwright, "Alfred Morrison: A Forgotten Patron and Collector," *The Grosvenor House Art and Antiques Fair 1995 Handbook,* London, Burlington Magazine.

porcelain and enamels, comprising many of the finest objects from the Summer Palace at Pekin."[1232] Jones said the study of these objects "'opened his mind to a world of new ideas with regard to colouring as practiced in decorative art" and so revised his thinking about Chinese art that he was compelled to publish *The Grammar of Chinese Ornament* in 1867 to add to the material on Chinese work that he printed in *The Grammar of Ornament,* over a decade earlier.[1233]

At Fonthill, Jones designed staircases, a drawing room, and an addition to house the Chinese collection. *The Builder* described this addition as built by Jackson and Graham according to "Mr. Jones's designs in the Cinquecento style, of which it forms an exquisite example. The chimney piece and fittings are entirely of ebony, inlaid with ivory, and the ceilings of wood, panelled and inlaid, the mouldings being black and gold" [Figure 167]. Jackson and Graham submitted an upright case and other furnishings from this room to the Paris Exhibition of 1867, resulting in an award for the firm and a gold medal for Jones.

After the 1867 Exhibition, one reviewer praised the work of Jackson and Graham and "the beautiful articles of library furniture in ebony and ivory designed by Owen Jones."[1234] One of the items, a carpet, was described as "a work of rare excellence, produced from a design specially prepared by Owen Jones. It is of the kind called 'patent Axminster,' and is, we believe, the finest specimen of that fabric ever manufactured. Some idea of the delicacy of its texture may be arrived at when we state that there are two hundred and fifty-six points (or separate tufts of wool) in every square inch of surface." The design, in the Persian style, was "very elaborate" and "exceedingly well rendered in the manufacture, and the colouring...in the highest degree harmonious."[1235] Obviously Morrison's preference of Jones's

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[1232]*The Builder,* May 9, 1874, p. 385.
[1233]*The Builder,* May 9, 1874, p. 385.
[1234]Darby Dissertation, p. 422.
[1235]Darby files.

contemporary carpet over a rare antique is a testimonial to the incredible talent of the nineteenth century architect.

Some of these pieces were also displayed in the 1871 London Exhibition and in Vienna in 1873.[1236] In 1882, Moncure Daniel Conway noted that "Jones has...won for himself and his country the highest honors of the three great Continental Exhibitions. It was with some amazement that the world found itself pointed to England as the leader in decorative art by the French Exposition of 1867. Conway quoted the official Exposition catalogue discussing the great change which had taken place in England "within the last ten or fifteen years in the internal embellishment of the dwelling-houses of the upper and middle classes of society; and there can be little doubt that the extension of art education will lead still farther to the production and appreciation of articles which combine the three requisites of fitness of purpose, beauty of design and ornament, and excellence of workmanship." Conway credited "the devotion of such a scholar and refined gentleman as Owen Jones" for instituting the positive changes noted.[1237] This sentiment was repeated in the 1952 edition of *London Homes,* by Ralph Dutton who remarked that "It seems to have been principally his work which led the writers of the official catalogue of the French Exposition of 1867 to acclaim England as 'the leader in decorative art.'"[1238]

The case exhibited by Jackson and Graham in 1867 had glass doors at the top for the display of art objects and panel doors at the bottom decorated with Jones's refined "conventional foliage in ivory, around the initials of the owner, A.M.

[1236]Jones won a gold medal in Vienna also. For that Exhibition, Jackson and Graham entered Morrison pieces plus other designs by Jones, including nine carpets, a six foot brass bedstead, a 'wardrobe of Tuya wood inlaid with lemon, purple and black' and an 'ebony cabinet inlaid with ivory, box, purple, orangewood, etc.'" By himself, "Jones exhibited designs for playing cards, wall decorations, furniture, carpets and paper and silk wall hangings."

[1237]Moncure Daniel Conway, *Travels in South Kensington with Notes on Decorative Art and Architecture in England,* London, Trubner & Co., 1882, pp. 150-154.

[1238]Ralph Dutton, *London Homes,* London, Allan Winga, 1952, p. 119.

entwined" [Figure 32].[1239] These are probably the pair of doors measuring two feet and one half inches by four feet five and one-half inches "from a bookcase or wall refinement" auctioned by Sotheby's earlier this century. The panels indicate the same delicacy in ornamentation as a fireplace surround designed by Jones for Fonthill also sold at Sotheby's. This piece, 11 feet high and 6 feet 8 inches wide, was described as having "an inverted Greek key cornice flanked by half columns and stylized Ionic capitals carved with a dentil moulding above the frieze and with panelled foliate inlaid jambs."[1240]

Although the work in Fonthill House was consequential, *The Builder* described the efforts of Jones in No. 16 Carlton House Terrace as "by far the most important and complete work in which he was associated with Messers Jackson and Graham."[1241] (Sir) Morton Peto built this house between 1863-1866 to join and match the Nash scheme of magnificent terraced houses completed thirty years before. Jones received the commission to design the ground and first floor furnishings.

In *Travels in South Kensington,* Conway assessed Jones's work in 16 Carlton House Terrace as "the truest monument of the genius of Owen Jones" and praised it as "a work which need fear no comparison with any other, of whatever age or country." He determined that "it makes the chief palaces of Northern Europe vulgar" and prefaced his review of the house with a story, explaining that: "Sadi tells

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[1239] *The Builder,* March 16, 1867, p. 187.

[1240] Sotheby's, London, *Good Victorian Furniture* Catalogue for the sale held Friday, February 17, 1984, pp. 40-41. The piece brought 14,850*L*. The *Provenance* read: "Fonthill House, Wiltshire, by way of Barton Hill House to where it was removed in the latter part of the 19th Century. Made for the collector Alfred Morrrison (1821-1897) heir to Lord Elgin. Morrison added a room to Fonthill to house his collection of Chinese porcelain...

Photographs show the complete fireplace *in situ* at Barton Hill House with a mirror and white tiled fireplace.

Cf.: A display cabinet from the same room exhibited at the Fine Art Society 5th-29th May 1981."

[1241] I am especially grateful to the Crown Estate Commissioners for graciously receiving me and allowing me to tour the premises in 1993 and 1995.

us of one recovering from an ecstacy, who said he had been in a divine a garden, where he had gathered flowers to bring to his friends; the odor of the flowers so overcame him that he let fall the skirt of his dress and the flowers were lost." He relates this story to a visit to Alfred Morrison's house where "a thousand of the touches, the felicities, which combine to produce the happiest effects in this mansion, can by no means be conveyed from the place where they would appear to have grown."[1242]

Conway's account of the interiors begins with the ground floor study, immediately to the right of the entry. He records that the walls of the room were lined with a dark red, changeable silk, made in Lyons, according to Jones's design, which was "as if an endless series of the most graceful amphorae had suddenly outlined themselves, and the lines had taken to budding off into little branches." This tapestry began a theme which was "carried, with harmonious variations, throughout the building, expanding in the larger rooms, until it recalls every variety of Etruscan shape, and taking on the most beautiful colors. There is a Blue Room, a Pink Room, a Yellow Room; yet in no case is there anything 'loud' or garish in the tints."[1243] He observed that the most noticeable figure in the carpet was formed of crossed squares, producing a star-shaped pattern which matched a similar design on the coffered ceiling. The ceiling reminded him of the best Italian work fabricated four centuries earlier and he described the decoration as "a kind of moulding in deep relief" forming star-shaped coffers with an inverted convoluted shell of gold at each center [Figure 168]. He, then, explained Jones's use of fibrous plaster and the technique required to create the ceiling decoration. He summarized the effect of the room, saying, "it is an indication of how finely the decorator has blended Oriental lustres and classic designs that the various antique objects and fine metal-work,

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[1242]Moncure Daniel Conway, *Travels in South Kensington with Notes on Decorative Art and Architecture in England,* London, Trubner & Co., 1882, p. 154.
[1243]*Ibid.,* p. 155.

done by the best Spanish, Italian, and Viennese workmen, after classic models, everywhere set about the room, have an easily recognizable relationship with the scrolls and forms on carpets, ceilings, and walls."[1244]

Conway's assessment continued with the observation that "neither the Lyons silk nor the Persian carpets can be pronounced unique in the same sense as the wonderful use made of various woods in this house [Figure 169]. In the dado, jambs, chairboarding, we find no carved work, but simply the most exquisite combinations of ebonized and many-colored woods." He explained that "some of these, as the Indian holly, are so fine that the grain is invisible to the closest inspection. Other woods are so soft and beautiful that they have the surface of petals" and that by selecting woods from all over the world Jones was able to combine them to "form rosettes on the chimney-pieces, cappings for the dados, and finest featherings around the doors" in a wide range of natural colors. Tables and chairs of several rooms repeated this tarsia-work and like the trims described, eliminated the need for paint, stain, or metal relief.[1245] Likewise, he found the marquetry used in the library bookshelves, which doubled as a dado around the room, superior to any ancient wood-inlay. These cases had "alternate doors of glass or wood, the latter...adorned with a foliation, over two feet high, growing from the bottom of the panel and leafing out at the top." In the drawing-room, he, again, remarked on the tarsia in the dado and in one of the fireplaces, observing that "some of the incised ornaments here are gems indeed, but in no case have they the appearance of being set there for their costliness; they are all parts of the general artistic work." He completed his review by discussing the patronage of Morrison who literally searched the world commissioning the best artisans and craftsmen to produce works in the fine and decorative arts and was surprised to find that "no house out of London was

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[1244] *Ibid.*
[1245] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

prepared to undertake a task that necessitated importations of select woods from all parts of the world" to execute the "exceedingly bold designs of Owen Jones for ornamentation with the colors of the woods." Morrison was fortunate Jones found Mr. Foster Graham who understood Jones's intentions and could execute his plans, and who Jones acknowledged for providing effective suggestions for improving his original designs. Finally, Conway concluded that Morrison could "now rejoice in having secured a home that has converted some portion of his wealth into a more real value. For there is nothing in this house not harmonious with its purpose."[1246]

Mrs. Haweis, the author of *Beautiful Houses; Being a Description of Certain Well-Known Artistic Houses* (1882), also discussed Carlton House and noted that the circumstances of the house being entirely decorated from the designs of Jones and carried out by Mr. Jackson, of Jackson and Graham, produced a unity of appearance, "seldom seen in houses so large." She reported that the decorations were carried out over four years under exceptionally favourable circumstances. The result was that "the ceilings are very fine; the doors, wainscots, and many suites of furniture throughout the house are made of the finest marquetrie of inlaid natural woods...The designs are often capital, and the technical part as perfect as possible." She speculated that "the cost must have been tremendous, and...the solid perfection of miles of conscientious inlaying is scarcely likely to be matched in the future." She added: "that all the mantelpieces, like the panelling, are similar (not alike) in design in the chief rooms, slender columns beautifully finished inclosing [sic] handsome mirrors in such a manner as to make the construction occupy the whole height of the wall from the ground" and said: "this is as it should be, the mirror forming a panel, built in, not resting upon a mean shelf in a disagreeable inconsistent frame."[1247]

[1246] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

[1247] This is the same technique he used in the fireplace for Fonthill (illustrated earlier). The top of one of the fireplaces described by Mrs. Haweis for N. 16 Carlton House Terrace is shown in Figure 101. Mrs. Haweis, *Beautiful Houses,* London, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1882, pp. 54-55.

The author continued describing the contents of each of room, adding some remarks on the decoration. This commentary included praise for the friezes and ceilings in the study, the balustrade of the great winding staircase, and the inlaid furniture designed by Jones."[1248] Henry Cole visited the house in May, 1870; his diary entry reads: "To Mr. Morrison's...his house filled with marquetrie designed by Owen Jones...mixture of Greek and Moorish, perfect mechanical work."[1249] Dr. Darby agreed, pointing out that the geometric basis of the designs, especially evident in the ceiling patterns, "coupled with the chanceless perfection of Jackson and Graham's craftmanship does give an undeniably mechanical and lifeless quality to much of the work, which is further emphasized by the lack of large areas of colour."[1250] After Alfred Morrison died in 1897, the family gave up the house and the furnishings were sold and given away.[1251]

At present, the Crown Estate, owners of the property, have taken over the premises and adapted them as part of the offices they maintain at Numbers 13, 14, 15, and now 16, Carlton House Terrace; as a result, the premises received extensive restoration efforts. The walls, once again, display large areas of intense colors which complement the marquetry in the dado mouldings, the door surrounds, and the ceilings, bringing forth contrasts in the wide range of woods used in the ornamentation [Figures 170 and 171]. The extensive repetition of motifs, particularly in the borders, friezes, and door frames may still be considered "mechanical" by some, but the repetition, geometry, and symmetry contributes to the sense of repose and harmony which Jones sought. Each pattern is interesting to study individually, but in combination, the choice of elements and their regular reoccurrence provides a calming background, leaving the "center stage" for the

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[1248] *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.
[1249] May 22, 1870.
[1250] Darby Dissertation, p. 424.
[1251] At one point, the property was leased to Crockford's, the gambling establishment, and the furniture designed by Jones was replaced by gaming tables and other equipment.

inhabitants of the room. The combination of Greek anthemions, symmetrical and abstracted foliate patterns, and Arabic geometry, clearly represents Jones's intention of drawing upon an extensive knowledge of past styles to create original and eclectic ornament.[1252]

In "Arabian Nights in the Mall", an article published in *Country Life* in 1989, John Cornforth discusses the recent restoration and explains that "Six of the original seven ceiling designs survive, and one can see how, taking the basic idea of an octagonal star, Jones developed it to create different patterns."[1253] He describes Jones's method: "On the entrance side of the house, for instance, where there is no direct sunlight and the rooms are often in shadow, he made much use of relief and gilding to give life to the rooms. In the room to the right of the vestibule and the room above it, star motifs are combined with gilded and ribbed domes which seem to float over red and blue framing."[1254] He continues: "Jones's marvellous feeling for counterpoint in colour and the use of gilding to illuminate it are evident in the Blue Room facing the street. In the more important and better-lit rooms on the Mall front, the designs are shallower and there is more use of painted--presumably stencilled--ornament on the fields between the ribs."[1255]

He also observes "the superb detail of the dados, door architraves and doors" which demonstrate "Jones's extraordinary sensitivity to the tone and grain of wood and how it can be emphasised by lining out in black and gold, and to see how it is varied from room to room." He remarks that this is the same level of attention to detail associated with Robert Adam, but explains that Adam had to rely upon paint, whereas Jones was able to work in inlaid wood. The comparison can be taken

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[1252]On my visits to the property, I asked employees in the building what it was like to work amidst the strong patterns and colors. Everyone I spoke with said they actually found the patterns and colors quite restful and expressed and awareness and dissatisfaction upon leaving the building with the lack of harmony which they experienced in other surroundings.
[1253]John Cornforth, "Arabian Nights in the Mall," *Country Life,* May 18, 1989, pp. 246-249.
[1254]*Ibid.*, p. 248.
[1255]*Ibid.*

further by considering the fact that as a result of his travels, Adam combined Neo-classical motifs in unconventional arrangements to produce a new style of ornament; likewise, as a result of his travels, Jones combined geometric and Neo-classical motifs to create new decorative schemes.[1256]

Both John Cornforth and Michael Darby have pointed to changes from Jones's original scheme. For example, although the ceilings are original to Jones, "the friezes of the ground-floor room facing the street and the room above it are not original, though they have been retained as part of the present scheme. Michael Darby also believes that the gold-on-red coves of the former drawing room date only from the 1960s."[1257] The drawing room presents other problems as well. Cornforth notes that "it appears to have been designed to work in two parts with identical ceilings but different chimneypieces. Furthermore, there appear to be signs of alteration to the opening between them as it existed until recently."[1258] He notes that Conway was also confused about the arrangement, describing the space as "a very large apartment, whose division, if it ever has [sic] any, had disappeared, giving an unbroken range to the eye."[1259] Presently, new folding doors matched to the detail of the room have been installed providing a large Board Room and smaller Conference Room which can be combined into one larger space when necessary.

Other alterations include the reuse of a large piece of furniture from the ground floor "library" as a partition on the first floor and the introduction of new doorways into some of the rooms. As a result of these changes and decisions made with regard to color and pattern,[1260] the work cannot be considered a total

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[1256]The inspiration for this delicate wooden inlay probably derives from Jones's travel and study in Spain where the craft of inlaying intricate patterns in wood is still practiced. These geometric patterns, in multi-colored materials, are an obvious derivative of Moorish design.

[1257]Cornforth, p. 249.

[1258]*Ibid.*

[1259]*Ibid.*

[1260]Letter, Dr. Michael Darby to Alan Francis, Esq., Hunter and Partners, March 17, 1989.

restoration of Jones's work, but still serves, as John Cornforth points out, as a valuable resource to "those trying to understand Victorian theories of colour in architecture and decoration." Cornforth concluded his article by expressing the hope that students would be allowed to visit the premises to study Jones's techniques and patterns. It is interesting to note that the house served this purpose in 1885, when members of the Architectural Association made a visit to the house "to study and examine the decorations of the house by the late Owen Jones" and the furniture executed according to his specifications in the "style which Owen Jones had made his own."[1261]

Although the marquetry trim may still be studied and the ceiling patterns are in evidence, most of the other furnishings have been removed from 16 Carlton House Terrace. The majority of furniture pieces were dispersed after Alfred Morrison died and have not been identified or returned to the house.[1262] In 1995, H. Blairman & Sons, Ltd., dealers in fine antique furniture, exhibited an exquisite marquetry table by Jones [Figure 172 and 173]. This piece showed the same patterns and woods found in the marquetry in Carlton House Terrace and in other pieces previously owned by Morrison.[1263] This is probably one of the pieces which Jones designed for Carlton House Terrace, the commission many people regarded as one of his finest works.[1264]

Reviews of the furniture which Jones made for this house show an interesting contradiction. The *Furniture Gazette* praised these pieces, saying:

> In structure there is a determinate and well-considered adaptation to *use,* and not the slightest attempt to make pieces of ornamental furniture simply as decorative adjuncts to a room. The chairs are designed and made to be sat

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[1261]*The Builder,* Feb. 21, 1885, p. 265.
[1262]Michael Darby, Ph.D., was able to secure a case piece for the Victoria and Albert Museum; unfortunately, this piece has never been reassembled or displayed.
[1263]I am grateful for Mr. Levy's generous time and information on February 20, 1995.
[1264]*The Builder,* Feb. 21, 1885, p. 265.

> upon, the tables to sit at and around, the secretaire, although highly ornate in its inlaid woods, to write at. There may be quaintness, even approaching heaviness in two of the chairs, for instance, but there is a purpose in the structure and decoration which carries them far away from the commonplace...it is perfectly clear that they *are* designs for furniture, and nothing else.[1265]

Ironically, Jones's disciple, Dr. Christopher Dresser, made a rare criticism of his former teacher during a lecture given at the Exhibition of Jones's work mounted after his death; he maintained that the structure of the pieces showed an incorrect treatment of wood - - "an over elaborate inlay, the furniture appearing to have been designed for the inlay, and not first constructed, and then the constructed wood decorated," which would have been a violation of Jones's first principle. Dresser concluded by paraphrasing Jones's own principles, saying that "A chair should be made strong with the best wood possible, then made as beautiful as possible."[1266] Viewed today, the opinion of the critic from the *Furniture Gazette* seems to be the better assessment. These pieces maintain their substantiality; the inlay reads as ornamentation on a functional piece and not, as Dr. Dresser suggests, a piece conceived for the purpose of displaying ornament.

It is interesting to compare the table in the possession of Blairman's and a table which Jones designed for James Mason at Eynsham Hall [Figure 174], now in the possession of the Victoria and Albert Museum.[1267] While the tables are alike in construction and scale, the major differences involve subtle variations in design and in the extent of embellishment. The decoration of the table for the great art patron, Morrison, displays bands of contrasting woods on the outer edges, a wide circle of unpatterned dark wood in the middle, and a conventionalized foliate pattern at the center; the table for the eminent scientist, Mason, also relies on bands of heavily

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[1265] *Furniture Gazette,* Sept. 26, 1874, p. 1025.
[1266] *The Architect,* Sept. 26, 1874, p. 159.
[1267] GC 4684, Victoria and Albert Museum.

contrasted woods for its ornamentation, but the exterior ring of varied inlays is narrower, the middle area consists of a lighter wood, and the center displays highly-grained contrasting woods. The design of the second table achieves distinction through the appeal of the circular and triangular arrangements of fine woods, expert craftsmanship, and a streamlined design. The architect has eliminated a pendant, center-post mouldings, curved ornament, and an accented "foot" from the Morrison piece, resulting in a piece for Mason which emphasized the simplicity of the basic elements through the linear inlays which repeat the form in alternating woods and colors. Considered together, the tables demonstrate the versatility and talent of Jones as a designer and his method of reintroducing the same elements in new and exciting ways. Conway's assessment of Jones's chairs can also be applied to this comparison of the two tables: "Every chair is as philosophically as it is beautifully constructed."[1268]

Jones became involved with Eynsham Hall at the request of James Mason (1824-1903).[1269] Mason purchased Eynsham Park Estate, including Eynsham Hall, in 1866 with wealth earned from copper mining in Portugal.[1270] The original Eynsham Hall had been "built for James Lacy (d. 1774), after Lacy bought the estate in 1763."[1271] Charles Barry, subsequently, enlarged the house between 1843 and 1845 for the 5th Earl of Maccelsfield, Thomas Parker. The lodges which survive on

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[1268] Moncure Daniel Conway, *Travels in South Kensington*, p. 158.

[1269]James Mason was a "Fellow of the Royal Society (FRS) - the highest honour in British science. He was in fact so well regarded and held in such high esteem that on his death his son James Francis Mason (JFM) had the same honour conferred on him as a mark of respect for his father's work. I believe this is the only time this has ever happened in the long history of the Royal Society, and it is all the more remarkable because JFM was not a scientist at all." He was honored for agricultural research. Letter to Carol A. Flores from David Mason, great-grandson of James Mason, dated June 22, 1995, p. 1.

[1270]Letter to Carol A. Flores from David Mason, May 25, 1995, pp. 1-2.

[1271]Draft register entry GD 2310, English Heritage, p. 1.

the property were part of this alteration.[1272] In 1904-1908, the house was razed and the present Eynsham Hall was built to the designs of Ernest George.[1273]

The major expansion and renovation of Eynsham Hall, Oxfordshire (1871-1874), is the final project identified in the work of Jones, and thus, is an important representation of his latest thinking.[1274] It is also significant as a total architectural commitment, since Jones almost doubled the footprint of Eynsham [Figures 175 and 176], adding wings on the east and west of the central block and a placing a new fourth floor on the one hundred year old structure.[1275] In this intrepid renovation and expansion, Jones introduced the latest concepts in country house design, but arranged them with unusual sympathy for the existing structure. The typical Victorian solution would have been to string corridors and wings off the earlier building effecting a mammoth arrangement which conveyed the idea of the wealth and importance of the estate owner through the unwieldy mass of his mansion; in contrast, Jones created a tightly controlled composition with balanced vertical and horizontal lines.

[1272]Parker acquired the estate in 1805. *Ibid.*

[1273]Michael Darby notes that in *The Victorian Country House,* M. Girouard puts the date around 1880, but that "George showed a design for Eynsham at the Royal Academy in 1904, and Mrs. Wickham Steed, Mason's niece, gave the date as 1906 in a letter to P. Floud (V&AM, Registry 52/1600. 3 April 1952). Darby Dissertation, p. 479. Correspondence from David Mason, however, provides additional information; he states: "When JM died on 2nd April 1903, his son JFM inherited Eynsham Hall and the Eynsham Park Estate (which at that time comprised some 5,000 acres). JFM had married Evelyn Margaret Lindsey...She had decided immediately that she didn't like Eynsham Hall and she persuaded her husband to demolish it and build another Hall on the same site. This work started in 1904 and was completed in 1908." Letter to Carol Flores dated May 25, 1995, from David Mason, p. 2.

In addition, a letter to The Owner of the property from Dr. H. Jordan, Inspector of Historic Parks and Gardens, English Heritage, dated September 16, 1994, and the draft register entry for Eynsham hall attached, confirms the work of Ernest George from 1904-1908.

[1274]When Jones died, the work at Eynsham was "scarcely yet completed." *The Builder,* May 9, 1874, p. 385. Moreover, David Mason maintains that "it would have been in my great grandfather's character to have given Jones a very free hand and to insist on the highest standards." Letter to Carol A. Flores from David Mason, May 25, 1995, p. 2.

[1275]I am grateful to Michael Darby for informing me about the existence and whereabouts of the Eynsham Hall drawings and to Michael Bott, Archivist, Reading University Library, for allowing me to study them. A full discussion of this project will be found in the author's forthcoming article: "Owen Jones at Eynsham Hall."

In the revised structure, the new columned portico offered a transition from the horizontal circular drive to the two-storey entrance addition and mitigated the height of the new fourth-storey addition; at the same time, the portico repeated the height of the east and west additions, creating a stabilizing horizontal plane. By repeating elements from Barry's scheme and establishing the central focus, Jones ignored contemporary fashion and produced a compositon more in keeping with his objective of harmonious "repose" than the exuberant, accretive piles of his contemporaries.

The transformation of the visitor's experience to Eynsham Hall began with a new, grand entrance. Jones enclosed and doubled the original loggia, and preceded this area with a small vestibule and the square, columned, entrance portico to provide a formal sequence and variety of spaces leading into the two-storey hall [Figure 177]. A winding double-stair wrapped around three sides of the hall, providing a useful and dramatic accent which left the central space open for formal reception and farewells. Panelled oak doors, mouldings, and dadoes provided a rich and sober complement to the patterned, coffered ceiling [Figure 178]. This arrangement is consistent with Jones's characteristic practice of providing intricate ceiling patterns as the focus of a room's decoration, adding vitality and beauty to the interior without detracting from, or competing with, the inhabitants of the space below.

It is interesting to note that although cast iron had been popular as a support for entry stairs in country houses since the early nineteenth century,[1276] Jones selected wood for this scheme, and used it, not to create one of the pseudo-Jacobean or Elizabethan interiors preferred by his peers, but as an expression of the beauty of the unadorned material.[1277] A substantial amount of iron was used in this space,

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[1276]Girouard, *The Victorian Country House*, p. 14.
[1277]Drawing No. 223, Eynsham Hall.

however, but not exposed; two-storey iron columns placed within the walls braced massive iron beams added to bear the load of the new fourth storey [Figure 179].

One change obvious in the new hall was the provision of gas lighting. Jones's sketches and drawings communicate designs for new gas fixtures [Figure 180], plans for gas installations, the redesign of each of the existing fireplaces, and drawings for ventilating panels to be placed in ceilings and walls to compensate for the introduction of gas illumination.[1278] The installation of gas lighting involved a considerable commitment on the part of the property owner.[1279] James Mason commissioned the construction of a gasworks, and brickworks to produce the gas and necessary building materials. Three gas holding tanks, approximately 25 feet in diameter, constructed of brick and lined with metal, were buried near the house.[1280]

Within the house, expanded service facilities included new sub-terranean entrances for the delivery of coal and other materials as well as an entrance for tradesmen. New offices, storerooms for coal, and boiler rooms were added underneath ground level and the kitchens were enlarged and outfitted with the colossal warming, baking, and roaster ovens appropriate to the grand-scale country house hospitality of the period [Figure 181].[1281]

At ground level, the important public spaces included the hall, an ante-room to the new drawing room, and Mrs. Mason's boudoir, a space comparable to the male "study." The large drawing room featured alternating French doors with large mirrors set against white woodwork and lavender walls with blue and white cornices. White furniture upholstered in fabric complementary to the walls completed this bright and airy scheme. The combination of lavender, blue and white was repeated in different shades and patterns in the boudoir, and in the suite of

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[1278]Drawing No. 141, Eynsham Hall.
[1279]Girouard, *The Victorian Country House,* p. 17.
[1280]Letter of James Mason to Carol A. Flores dated 22 June, 1995, page 2.
[1281]Drawing No. 17, Eynsham Hall.

rooms assigned to the activities associated with making music, writing, and the playing of cards [Figure 182]. The freshness and delicacy of the colors used in these "feminine," public areas, presented a sharp contrast to the scheme chosen for the private male domain.[1282] The rooms designated for the activites of James Mason featured black furniture and woodwork, enhanced with gilding, and walls of deep maroon and turquoise [Figure 183]. Decoration throughout the house relied upon abstract and foliate patterns incorporated in textiles, ceilings, borders, and mouldings.[1283] Each space had uniquely designed ornamentation, but the repetition of large borders, elaborate ceilings, and articulated woodwork, produced a feeling of overall harmony and coordination which must have been unusual given the fashion for differentiated, historicized rooms throughout Victorian England.

On the other hand, Jones's design boasted the latest ideas in arranging rooms to provide an outstanding example of one of the "increasingly large and sacrosanct male domain[s]."[1284] Mark Girouard notes that, during this period, a billiard room placed next to the owner's study or business room, with an adjacent w.c. and wash basin, constituted a comfortable male territory. Jones exceeded these conditions in the new east wing at Eynsham Hall, providing entrancing spaces for the activities of James Mason and his guests. The new wing contained the "nucleus of the male preserve", a billiard room,[1285] measuring 35 feet by 30 feet. Jones produced an unusual space by placing a glass lantern to extend the space to a height of thirty-four feet. Another surprising feature is the use of glass for one of the exterior walls [Figure 184]. Jones provided a characteristic divided and ornamented ceiling design,

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[1282]Girouard, *The Victorian Country House*, p. 20.
[1283]One pattern in silk woven by Warners remained on two chairs from Eynsham Hall received by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1953; these fragments in the "Sutherland" pattern are referenced as "T. 225 and A-1953" in the Textiles Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum. Letter to Carol A. Flores dated 10 November, 1995.
[1284]*Ibid.*, p. 24.
[1285]*Ibid.*

later praised and published in the *Furniture Gazette* [Figure 185].[1286] The billiard room's furnishings consisted of a standard game table for the men and an unusual piece, a smaller billiard table for the ladies, plus a large divan and chairs near the fireplace.[1287] The adjacent lavoratory contained the w.c. and two wash basins, plus an extraordinary feature, a full-sized bath tub. The 22 by 12 foot gun room reveals another specialized chamber beginning to make an occasional appearance in the 1870s.[1288] Girouard notes that its' appearance "marks the progress from the relatively haphazard shooting of the early nineteenth century to the great organized beats of the 1890s, and the development of shooting from a recreation to a mystique."[1289] A glass-roofed apsidal fernery (36 feet by 14 feet) and an adjacent laboratory (22 feet by 16 feet) completed the east wing extension and expressed Mason's botanical interests [Figure 186].

Two rooms on the other side of the billiard room continued the provisions for a male domain within the body of the original house. These rooms included Mason's study and a new library in maroon and turquoise with built-in bookcases of black painted wood and matching furniture. The dining room, also part of the male domain, continued this color scheme [Figure 183]. In contrast, the new 40 by 30 foot ballroom presented a light and lively scheme with lavender walls capped by a bower of two-dimensional flowers arranged in a trellis pattern and set against a white background. A deep frieze introduced a delicate garland, echoed in the fanciful railing surrounding the raised orchestra in the center of the room [Figure 187]. Another light interior was created in the 24 by 50 foot long conservatory addition. For this new west wing, Jones created delicate curves and trellises in iron that

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[1286]***Furniture Gazette***
[1287]Girouard explains that "the billiard room tended to become exclusively male territory." Girouard, *The Victorian Country House,* p. 20.
[1288]*Ibid.,* p. 26.
[1289]*Ibid.*

advanced the framing beyond utilitarian structure and required no further embellishment [Figure 188].

Jones's activity extended to the landscape. Parts of the two-tiers of formal terraces which he created on the south side of the house have endured [Figures 189-190]. The colorful flower beds of his have been rearranged, but the pools, fountains, and stone balustrade are in place.[1290] The encircling stone wall of the lower terrace is another part of the original plan still evident.[1291]

These formal terraces complemented Barry's earlier classical scheme. Jones retained the large portico with six grand Ionic columns in the center of the southern facade and kept the new modifications consistent with Barry's arrangement [Figure 191]. Consequently, he repeated Barry's quoins in the chimneys for the new heating and cooking equipment and in the fourth storey extension. He also reproduced the third floor window treatment and terminated the building with a classical parapet.

The magnitude of this rebuilding and redecorating serves as an excellent example of the "golden age of Victorian country house building" described in *The Victorian Country House* by Mark Girouard.[1292] Mason typifies the nineteenth-century entrepeneur who amassed a fortune and then sought social acceptance through the extensive ownership of land (5000 acres) and the renovation or erection of "a massive pile" for lavish entertaining and "appearance." The extensive provisions for grand-scale entertaining prove this point. In addition, Eynsham is an interesting exemplar of the Victorian predisposition for compartmentalizing all

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[1290]Although the house was demolished and Sir Ernest George's new structure was built on the site, evidence of Jones's work is still evident in the moldings of two rooms and in the terraces. The pools and balustrades remain, but the flower arrangements and decorative elements have been altered. Site visit February, 1995.

[1291]Garden lay-out dated January 24, 1872, Prints and Drawings, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.499-1952, given by Mrs. Wickham-Steed and Eynsham Hall plan, No. 29. Until now, confusion about whether Jones laid out the gardens has existed in historical accounts of Eynsham. The author's site visit in 1995 confirmed that the overall lay-out conforms to the plans prepared by Jones. In addition, previous to the 1995 site visit, the extant garden fixtures remained unidentified and unattributed to Jones.

[1292]Mark Girouard, *The Victorian Country House,* p. 9.

aspects of life. This categorization is reflected in both the assignment of particular functions to specific rooms associated with male and female roles in society and in the furnishings and decorative schemes of those rooms. The deep, dark colors, geometric patterns, and ebonized wood trimmed in gold, used in the billiard room, the library, and the dining room [Figure 182] suggest masculine domains, while the light, pastel colors, gay floral patterns, and white furniture used in the new drawing room [Figure 181] and ballroom represent feminine involvement.[1293]

This overview of Jones's work at Eynsham Hall appropriately concludes a chapter which began with Jones's successful handling of new materials and building types, such as iron and glass "Palaces for the People" during the fifties and early sixties, and ends with his major rebuilding of a large country house at the peak of country house construction and remodeling.[1294] From his first commissions to this last, Jones revealed a desire to achieve new design possibilities through the use of new technology. This chapter also exposes the architectural breadth, intensity, and expertise which enabled him to meet the practical needs of diverse clients while creating new aesthetic environments appropriate to art collectors and musicians, men of science and industry, and for the entertainment and fascination of all classes of society.

[1293]One interesting exception involves plans for two billiard tables in the Billiard Room: a large piece labelled "Billiard Table" and a smaller piece labelled "Ladies Billiard Table."

[1294] His work at Eynsham clearly reveals him as an architect comfortable with producing impressive, contemporary spaces and successfully marrying these additions and alterations to an existing structure built to accommodate the needs and tastes of an earlier time. To accomplish this, he had to plan and articulate the changes required to strengthen the foundation and walls to support a new fourth story to a house built a century earlier, plus provide instructions to the workmen for the other alterations and changes in the heating, lighting, and ventilation systems. His drawings range from working plans and details of braces, mouldings, and gas lighting fixtures to full-scale illustrations of cornices and column capitals He also designed the furniture, carpets, upholstery fabrics, and drapery treatments used throughout the house as well as the garden lay-out and ornaments on the exterior [Figures 189-190].

CHAPTER VI

EVALUATING ARCHITECTURE

Mr. Heavyith' heel. Show me a new style--really new,
show me a new order, and then--
Mr. Newleafe. Then what my friend?
Mr. Heavyith' heel. Then I'll call you a clever fellow, that's all.
Mr. Newleafe. Ah! I'm afraid that *is* all..."[1295]

In *Meaning in Western Architecture,* Christian Norberg-Schulz discusses the impact of the eighteenth-century's industrial and social revolutions on architecture. He observes that "during the nineteenth century the monument, the museum, the dwelling, the theatre, the exhibition hall, the factory and the office building" replaced the church and palace as the leading archetypes, indicating "the rise of a new form of life based on new existential meanings."[1296] He believes these substitutions occurred because the "integrated and hierarchical forms of life of the past had given way to a pluralism of equally valid meanings which interacted in various ways."[1297] Although he doesn't select Jones's work to support this argument, a comparison of Jones's designs with the ideas expressed and the examples cited, yields significant information. In the first place, Jones's work benefits by comparison with the efforts of his peers, and second, the broader view of

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[1295]Robert Kerr, *The Gentleman's House,* 1864, London; reprint, New York and London, Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1972, p. vii.
[1296]Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Meaning in Western Architecure,* New York, Rizzoli, 1983, pp. 173-174.
[1297]*Ibid.*

the period underscores Jones's brilliance in designing bold and original architecture to meet the changed societal priorities and conditions of his age.

Norberg-Schulz maintains that "The truly creative works of this period are the great utilitarian structures of iron and glass, where the Baroque concept of an open and dynamic space is given a new interpretation."[1298] He sees this new interpretation manifest in "the large hall (for production, exhibition, and distribution), the office building, and the individual house...which determined the character of man's environment,"[1299] and cites the Galerie des Machines at the World Exhibition, Paris, 1889, by Contamin & Dutert, as a "splendid example." He describes that structure as an immense space which measured 1378 by 377 feet and "consisted of twenty-three hinged arches which rested on small joints, creating a revolutionary effect of dynamic lightness."[1300] He concludes by saying that "with its continuous walls of glass, the Galerie des Machines realized Horeau's vision of a limitless, luminous space."[1301] It should be noted, however, that Jones's designs for the Palace of the People Muswell Hill and the permanent exhibition facility for St. Cloud, France, were praised for their ethereal and luminous effects thirty years earlier. Moreover, the completion of St. James's Hall and the Crystal Palace Bazaar verified Jones's mastery of iron-and-glass construction at mid-century.

In fact, the proposals by Horeau and Contamin & Dutert are, in their dimensions and the atmosphere they generated, exceeded by Jones's iron-and-glass projects. For example, Jones's Palace of the People, Muswell Hill (1296 by 492 feet), surpasses the Paris structure in both size and complexity.[1302] Instead of the Galerie's simple pitched roof, Jones designed a dome with a 200 foot internal

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[1298]*Ibid.*, p. 169.
[1299]*Ibid.*, p. 174.
[1300]*Ibid.*
[1301]*Ibid.*
[1302]The dimension of the Palace of the People, Muswell Hill were 1296 by 492 feet versus 1378 by 377 feet in the 1889 Paris exhibition building.

diameter (216 feet external diameter), springing 48 feet from the "general level of the Building"[1303] and reaching a height 84 feet above the floor. The space under this dome was intended as a contained Winter Garden to solve the problem, experienced in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, where the provision of adequate heat and humidity for tropical plants initiated harmful effects on other parts of the building. This dome was surrounded by four towers connected by galleries. Another tier of galleries 48 feet wide, circled the Dome, Naves, and the ends of the building at a lower level. As described earlier, other advances in Jones's scheme included a three-story lecture theatre (216 feet in diameter) designed so that ten thousand people could see and hear lectures easily and distinctly. Twenty-four foot corridors surrounded the theater to enable the huge crowds to access their seats and vacate the premises quickly and without confusion. This entire space capped another innovation in Jones's design, the provision of a railway terminus on the lowest level of the building, allowing "passengers to arrive under cover, and ascend to the ground-floor of the Building. A similar provision is made for those visitors who arrive in carriages, which will pass over the railroad, and deliver their occupants under a glazed corridor, extending along the North side of the Building."[1304] This plan and the streamlined project at St. Cloud, which rose to the height of a forty-five story building at it's crossing,[1305] better exemplify Norberg-Schulz's criterion of the nineteenth-century hall "defined as a unitary space into which secondary elements are freely placed,"[1306] than the uncomplicated plans of Horeau or Contamin & Dutert. In addition, Muswell Hill incorporated facilities for Fine Art exhibits in the Nave and "Illustrations of Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, Biology, Socioloy, and

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[1303]Catalogue, Architectural Exhibition of 1859, p. 15.
[1304]*Ibid.*, p. 16.
[1305]"Introduction," *The Grammar of Ornament,* (CD-ROM), p. 38.
[1306]Norberg-Schulz, p. 174.

Illustrations of Sacred History" in the Galleries.[1307] Jones's creation of these educational spaces, the Fine Arts Courts at Sydenham, and his work in South Kensington, characterize Norberg-Schulz's explanation of the Victorian museum "conceived as an 'aesthetic church,' where all the works of man were brought together, as the manifestation of a new art pantheism."[1308]

Jones continues to demonstrate the same attention to function, articulation, and spatial experimentation in his other designs, particularly, the schemes for St. James's Hall, his unique shopping emporia, and even in his country house arrangement at Eynsham Hall. At St. James's Concert Hall, he used brick in-fill instead of glass in response to the interiority of the site; as a result, this building has been overlooked in discussions of technological progress, since it is not an obvious example of iron and glass construction. Jones deserves recognition, however, for providing England with an advanced exposed iron structure, praised for its' beauty and for its' successful operation as London's best concert facility.[1309] St. James's Concert Hall enhanced the experience of musical performances through improved acoustics and dramatic interiors. In addition, Jones recognized the social nature of the age, and elevated the experience of attending a concert into a new form of entertainment event by providing refreshment facilities for the audience and opportunities for dining contiguous to the hall. His accurate understanding of the times and the public is also evident in other aspects of this commission; for example, he established the importance of the facility by providing a separate entrance and specialized accommodations for the sovereign. He also created a more productive and cost-effective building by planning flexible accommodations for several different types of entertainment within one structure. As a result, while the main concert

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[1307]*Ibid.*

[1308]*Ibid.*, p. 173.

[1309]The Crystal Palace at Sydenham held larger audiences than St. James's Hall, but the acoustics at the Crystal Palace were inferior to Jones's concert facility.

hall was hosting a symphony performance, the rooms at ground level could be used for small concerts in a different style of music or for literary readings. These rooms also functioned as banquet halls and meeting rooms for the numerous professional and social organizations which gained increased stature and membership during the period.

Other examples of Jones's astute perception and response to changes taking place within London include the buildings he designed to accommodate the new "fetish of consumerism," as described by Walter Benjamin. The dazzling Osler's Showroom and the sensational Crystal Palace Bazaar presented exhilarating places of affordable spectacle to attract and enthrall consumers. These commissions catered to the Victorian predilection for exotic and sensational experiences and provided opportunities to see and "be seen" in fashionable surroundings. Innovative lighting and ornamentation, wide corridors and terraces, and an array of retail goods, gave consumers a pretext, and an organization, for stylish promenading. The success of Jones's "magical" designs for these new ventures is reflected in the enthusiastic praise of the public and the press. This praise was only excelled by the adulation Jones received for his equally successful temples of art and learning - his concert and museum facilities.

Although less well-known, Jones's work in the private domain, exemplified in the extensive renovation of Eynsham Hall, further demonstrates his attention to function, articulation, and spatial experimentation to devise modern surroundings. The Eynsham Hall commission demonstrates Jones's ability to particularize the design to satisfy his client's needs, introduce the latest technology and fashions in country house living, and express a new aesthetic. The signed and dated drawings for Eynsham Hall document Jones's designs for all aspects of this commission, including structural supports, roofing plans, iron connectors, and decorative furnishings. As discussed, this commission involved an aggressive and assured

expansion and renovation which doubled the interior space of a century-old house with additions on three sides and a new fourth storey ballroom. Innovations included the installation of a fully-equipped bathroom, gas lighting, central heating, and interiors dramatized through variations in the admission of light, ceiling heights, and Jones's exquisite patterns. The extensive redesign of the interior ran counter to the advice of Robert Kerr, considered the authority on country house planning as a result of his popular text, *The Gentleman's House* (1864).[1310] Jones's decision to emphasize the core of the original building by reworking the interior, adding the fourth storey and wings, instead of using the opportunity to create new adjacent rooms, also ran counter to the contemporary practice of architects such as Norman Shaw, Robert Kerr, and Samuel Sanders Teulon, who enjoyed creating wings dedicated to the activities of family members, servants, or particular domestic chores, such as the preparation of food.

Jones's plan emulated the Victorian penchant for formality and spatial differentiation by providing and designating specific areas for writing, reading, card playing, music, dancing, guns, research, in addition to the typical early nineteenth-century spaces: the billiard room, boudoir, conservatory, and study, and the traditional drawing room, ante-room, dining room, bedrooms, servants' quarters, and estate offices. As discussed earlier, Jones modified the color schemes of these spaces to reflect their status as masculine or feminine domains, using black furniture and strong colors in the male areas, and white furniture and pastels in the feminine, public spaces. Although great variety was achieved in the interiors at Eynsham Hall, an overall plan was apparent. The unified scheme extended to the exterior where each of the disparate heights of the additions related to an element on the facade to form an integrated composition. This control of massing and finite details was often missing in the work of Jones's contemporaries; in fact, Norberg-Schulz

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[1310]Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, pp. 295-299.

states that most nineteenth-century compositions lacked "correspondence between the general layout and the detailing. Architectural members and details are [were] applied without any convincing relationship to the whole, and it is difficult or impossible to distinguish between primary and secondary parts."[1311] Jones, on the other hand, was always confident of his material and in control of his design.

Jones clearly understood the predilections and passions of his age and won acclaim for his designs and new types of buildings. The enthusiastic praise of his work has provoked twentieth-century questions concerning his inability to replace the dominance of historicism with his new style of architecture. One obvious answer is the fact that Jones was exceptionally talented and experiments with new ideas, materials, and construction techniques by other, less gifted, architects compromised his message. It is easy to see that the cast-iron churches of Thomas Ryckman could appear weak and unsavory to a public accustomed to the dignity and substance of St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey, and the charm of ubiquitous country parishes. Correspondingly, it is understandable that architects and selection committees avoided cast-iron once the widespread stigma of the "Brompton Boilers" was established. Another explanation stems from the strong allegiance of architects and the public to Elizabethan and Gothic architecture as symbols of British nationalism. The deliberate specification of these styles in the early competition for the Palace of Westminster proves the desire to invoke a sense of history and tradition through the association with medieval styles; this type of identity and commitment is not tossed aside easily, especially to embrace the celebration of an age which was constantly being criticized in the press and in philosophical and literary publications as inhumane and unsatisfactory. The familiarity of traditional styles offered comfort in a period of unaccustomed transition. The strength of the public's and the

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[1311]Norberg-Schulz, p. 175-176.

profession's resistance to change makes the adulation of Jones's works more remarkable.

The originality and clarity of his ideas stand out against the designs of his contemporaries. One only has to compare his refined competition entry for the Manchester Fine Arts Exhibition Building with Salamons's executed design to recognize Jones's mature and confident ability. Salamons's design [Figures 192-193] presented barrel vaults and a transept reminiscent of Paxton's Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, London. The Manchester Building, however, was only one storey high at the sides, and this lower height gave the impression of a barrel vault pushing down on thin coupled columns instead of the Crystal Palace's ethereal effect of interior space lifted to blend with the sky above. The oprressive aspect of Salamons's interior may have been heightened by the dark color used as the decoration of the columns and ribs. The completed building imitated the Crystal Palace, but failed to impart the magical effect of the earlier structure. Jones's entry, on the other hand, repeated the polychromatic scheme of the Crystal Palace, but contributed a totally new structural design [Figure 135]. He produced an unprecedented public space with free circulation and unobstructed views by springing his arches directly from ground level. This decision produced a revolutionary concept for the display of art, by eliminating traditional walls.[1312] Paintings would be protected and lighting controlled by limiting the admission of natural light through glass panels in the ceiling and the arched opeings of the end walls. Jones's characteristic richness in the upper parts of his public spaces was already achieved by the diagonal bracing of the semi-circular trusses which he emphasized with the projecting bolt heads at the junctions. He clearly did not judge any further embellishment necessary, but wanted to allow the strong geometrical form of the construction to speak for itself.

[1312]Letter to Carol A. Flores from David Van Zanten, dated October 9, 1995.

This project and Jones's other commissions effectuate the Vitruvian triad of firmness, commodity, and delight, in compositions integrating progressive science with a new aesthetic more appropriate to the age. Sophisticated patrons appreciated the talent and reputation of Jones and commissioned him to design their private worlds and places of business. His invitations to participate in some of the most prestigious and challenging competitions of the period indicate the contemporary respect for his ideas, even though his entries were not selected. Had his design for the National Gallery and other prominent commissions been chosen, his architecture might have been widely emulated. One outcome might have been that the application of his ideas, produced in different materials and with less skill, would have reached the same type of compromise that transformed the elegance of Mies van der Rohe's skyscrapers into the "shoe-boxes" designed by others. The complexity, clarity, and confidence of Jones's work showed the way for a new architecture, but perhaps the path was too demanding for others to follow.

CONCLUSION

At the time of Owen Jones's death, a reporter for *The Building News* wrote "Although he erected few buildings of magnitude, the influence of Mr. Owen Jones's life as a teacher of the philosophy of Art has greatly changed the national taste, and his examples and writings have done more to inculcate a knowledge of true Art than if he had left us a magnitude of buildings."[1313] This dissertation has shown that even though the buildings Jones executed are gone, his writings, and those of his contemporaries, reveal the substance of his theory and the major impact his ideas and designs had on his profession and the public during a time of turbulent change in England and of vitriolic debate and uncertainty within the emerging architectural profession. When placed in this context, the significance of Jones's understanding of the problems, changes, and the possibilities affecting architecture and society becomes clear and the magnitude of his ideological and practical contributions warrant a place for his work in future discussions of nineteenth-century architectural theory and practice.

While the importance and influence of Jones is often alluded to, this thesis is the first study to document the significant impact and esteem of Jones's work and ideas upon the profession and his contemporaries. Original material developed as part of this study includes the historical exploration and analysis of Jones's *The Plans, Sections, Elevations and Details of the Alhambra* and the translation of Seroux D'Agincourt's *History of Art by Its Monuments* as contributions to the architectural historiography of Britain. This dissertation also makes an important contribution

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[1313] *The Building News*, April 24, 1874, p. 440.

by identifying the importance of Jones's texts on the writings of Ruskin and on the designs and theory of A. W. N. Pugin. In addition, this is the first work to note Jones's stature in contemporary publications, such as Gwilt's *Encyclopedia of Architecture*, where new products were described and gained acceptance through their association with Owen Jones.

This dissertation also expands the knowledge of Jones's work by presenting new information on most of his projects, including the Liverpool Town Hall, the Bath and Wash-house competition, the Crystal Palace at Hyde Park, the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition Building, the shop in Southampton, Osler's, and, in particular, Eynsham Hall. The renovation of Eynsham Hall has not been studied previously, and the garden lay-out, fixtures, and reused mouldings had not been identified until this study was conducted. Likewise, during a site visit to the house of Charles Dickens, the inscription Jones prepared for the popular literary figure was identified. Other new information presented in this dissertation concerns Jones's family background, his professional relationships, and his associations with clients, such as George Eliot.

As a result of this investigation, future studies should recognize Jones's early articulation of the concepts and issues which became central to nineteenth-century architectural debate. This study has demonstrated that before Victoria was crowned, Jones identified the interdependent relationship between architecture and culture and explained the major role played by religion in the development of earlier architectural styles. These tenets, subsequently, formed the basis of the theories expressed by A.W.N. Pugin, John Ruskin, and most other nineteenth-century architects.[1314] As a result, Pugin, Ruskin, Jones, and others, attributed the magnificence of Gothic architecture to the shared values and religious commitment

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[1314]"The Art of any country is the exponent of its social and political virtues," Ruskin, *Seven Lamps*, p. 191.

of medieval Christians and, in contrast, condemned the architecture being produced in the nineteenth century as inferior, confused, and superficial. They agreed that the universal principles inherent in good architecture needed to be identified and applied with a single vision in order to improve contemporary building, but disagreed on the nature of that vision. Pugin insisted that a return to the religious beliefs and customs of the twelfth and thirteen centuries was necessary to initiate sublime architecture once again. Ruskin also took a retardant moral position, recommending four Gothic styles affording opportunities for craftsmen to produce a new homage to God expressed through the spirit and individuality of man. Jones, on the other hand, recognized that changes in society had diluted the Church's influence and understood that great contemporary and future architecture would only evolve from the architect's comprehension of "the wants, needs, and faculties" of the age in which he was working. He emphasized that "the principles of the past should be adopted, but not the results," and encouraged architects to study the past to observe the universal principles essential to good architecture and then to apply those principles in accordance with the new technology, materials, and prevailing conditions of the time.

Jones's commitment to improved architectural resources and education in England should also be noted as one of the methods which he employed for expressing his theory and revolutionizing the state of architecture. His contributions in this area are impressive. He created the first comprehensive analysis of the Alhambra, expanding British knowledge of Islamic architecture; translated Seroux D'Agincourt's *History of Art* into English, giving the English access to the first serious study of medieval architecture, and produced "the earliest work to adopt an analytical approach to the study of ornamental art": *The Grammar of Ornament*.[1315] In addition, he and Matthew Digby Wyatt created the Fine Arts

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[1315]Durant, p. 14.

Courts at the Crystal Palace in Sydenham, providing students and the public with a unique museum displaying the major styles of architecture from ancient Egypt through the Renaissance. Since these Courts represented serious research, Jones suggested publishing guides explaining the history and significance of the exhibits to enhance the viewer's comprehension.[1316] The Fine Arts Courts displayed casts of sculpture and elements of architectural monuments which would have taken a lifetime of travel to visit; the opportunity to experience and study these illustrations easily and repeatly was quite an advance and advantage, and was even recognized and approved by Ruskin.[1317] Jones also lectured in several institutions and helped to assemble the collection, exhibits, and catalogues for the Museum of Ornamental Art.[1318] He used his lectures and museum activities as further occasions to provide in-depth analysis and an expanded understanding of architecture and the decorative arts to students and the public.[1319]

In each of these projects, Jones was able to provide clear, logical, and scientific[1320] information on architecture in contrast to the passionate pleas and doctrine of Pugin and the pontifications and contradictions of Ruskin. This ability to communicate a consistent and reasonable philosophy effectively, may be one reason that Jones was more successful in having his ideas implemented according to his intentions than either Pugin or Ruskin. Pugin died with the bitter realization that

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1316*Ibid.*

1317John Ruskin, *Lectures on Architecture and Painting (Ediburgh 1853) with Other Papers (1844-1854),* London, George Allen, 1904, p. 418.

1318Some of the places Jones lectured incldue: the Government Schools of Design, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the London Institution, and the Society of Arts. The collection he helped to start in The Mueum of Ornamental Art became the basis of today's Victoria and Albert Museum.

1319"He was a lecturer who always commanded an attentive audience, and an Art writer of considerable power. In his 'Attempt to define the Principles which should regulate the Employment of Colour in the Decorative Arts,' we have a succinct *résumé* of his principles, and its careful perusal, even now, will well repay the student.' *The Building News,* April 24, 1874, p. 440.

1320"Scientific" is used above in the sense of art studied and defined by objective rules rather than the contrasting subjective intuition or emotion exhibited in the writings of Ruskin.

his work and ideas had been rejected by the Church he tried to reform (the Roman Catholic Church) and Ruskin died believing his ideas had been misapplied, resulting in buildings as bad as those produced before he began. Both men expressed regret about their earlier writings. Jones, on the other hand, was still practicing and implementing his principles of design "with the patient, unselfish enthusiasm of one to whom, though full of the keenest sympathy with all the great historic movements and events of his time, his Art was his life."[1321] He continued to design high-style furniture and furnishings which won international awards and brought pride to the nation,[1322] and at home, composed countless designs for furniture, carpets, fabrics, and all manner of household items, enthusiastically received by the British press and public.[1323] Moreover, he had the knowledge that his books and principles were being studied in architecture and design schools throughout Europe.

This point has been missed by most historians. For example, in *The Dilemma of Style,* J. Mordaunt Crook correctly notes that Jones called for a new style of architecture in 1835, dreamed "of vast Paxtonian structures like the Great Northern Palace at Muswell Hill (1859) or the exhibition building at St. Cloud in Paris (*c.* 1860),"[1324] and used new technology in one of his commercial arcades, but Crook concludes by saying that Jones had given up his theory of a new style and "ended as

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[1321]*Furniture Gazette,* May 2, 1874, p. 432.

[1322]Jones is described as "executing the choicest designs of decorative art for eminent firms, who were indebted to his genius for the highest honours at the International Exhibitions at Paris in 1855 and 1867, and at Vienna in 1873. In this peculiar branch, in which beauty and utility are allied, his influence and example have rendered lastin services to the industrial arts and manufactures of this county." *Ibid.*

[1323]"To bring the beautiful in form and colour home to the household, and to mingle its subtle influences with the whole framework of social and family life-that the great designer we are lamenting laboured for all his life." *Ibid.*, and: "thus it is that we have to claim for him the honours that are due, not merely to a place in the long list of eminent architects, but to the more rare and special position of one of a little handful of most highly eminent decorative designers: building he could handle as well as most men, but in furniture, textile work, metal work, illumination, colour, plastic work, and almost every possible kind of pattern work, the phrase 'a design of OWEN JONES'S' has been for the last thirty years a household word." *The Architect,* April 25, 1874, p. 235.

[1324]J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Dilemma of Style,* London, John Murray, 1987, p. 124.

an interior decorator at the Charing Cross Hotel, working for plutocrats like Alfred Morrison of Fonthill."[1325] Crook also notes that "By 1864 he [Jones] looked about him and saw only 'confusion' and 'disorder': 'no doubt', he [Jones] concluded lamely, 'the future will produce a better style.'"[1326] Crook interprets Jones's unexecuted scheme for the Midland Hotel at St. Pancras (1865) as the summation of "the unequal struggle between architecture and engineering in the mid-Victorian period"[1327] and as a result, says it is "No wonder he [Jones] suffered from what *The Architect* called 'the self-doubting of a fastidious intelligence.'"[1328]

Crook is obviously right in citing Jones's early proposal for a new architecture, but wrong in assuming that he abandoned the idea because many of his projects were unrealized. Crook's overall assessment fails to consider several significant factors. First, Jones's use of new technology went beyond the one commercial arcade Crook cited; it should be obvious from the findings of this dissertation that Jones was praised throughout his career for pioneering the use of new materials and technology. Second, since Jones was committed to producing architecture capable of satisfying "the wants, feelings, and the faculties" of his age, he had considered the fact that the enthusiasm for iron and glass had waned, and consequently, devised a scheme for St. Pancras which reflected the fashionable classically-inspired railway hotels in popular demand. His decision to emphasize Barlow's functional structure over the eclecticism of the hotel produced what most historians believe is the most advanced and "modern" of all the entries submitted. Third, Jones's last known commission, scarcely completed before his death, at Eynsham Hall clearly followed his own prescription for an original style of architecture.[1329] He had identified the

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[1325] *Ibid.*
[1326] *Ibid.*
[1327] *Ibid.*
[1328] *Ibid.*
[1329] *Builder,* May 9, 1874, p. 385.

features of a building which comprise a particular style as: the means of support, the means of spanning the space between the supports, and the formation of the roof, and believed that the decoration of these structural elements produced the characteristics of the new style. He maintained that all of these elements followed "so naturally one from the other, that the invention of one will command the rest."[1330] At Eynsham Hall, Jones used iron to provide the structural support necessary to create a fourth story and other additions. He also used iron in the beams used to span the space between supports and used iron in the construction of the roofing to cover the structure. Inside, his geometric and conventionalized patterns decorated these structural supports in the abstract format he advocated throughout his career; likewise, his work for Morrison at Fonthill involved architectual renovations and an addition. At Carlton House Terrace, the architectural arrangement did not need revision and he was left with the decorative scheme as the only expression of a new style.

Finally, it appears that Crook draws the wrong conclusion from Jones's words. Like Pugin, Ruskin, and other nineteenth century theorists, Jones criticized the inconsistency of the architecture being produced and tried to impose a universal vision of architecture on the thinking and practice of the time. Jones differed from his contemporaries, however, by being "sanguinely optimistic about his times."[1331] He understood that dramatic change would not be realized immediately and worked to implement the expanded resources and programs to educate future architects and the public and free them from the classicism and historicism which dominated the training of his contemporaries. He said, "We have little hope that we are destined to see more than a commencement of a change; the architectural profession is at the present time too much under the influence of past education on the one hand, and

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[1330]Jones, *Grammar of Ornament*, p. 156.
[1331]Durant, p. 15.

too much influenced by an ill-informed public on the other."[1332] But Jones did not give up; he said, "From the present chaos there will arise, undoubtedly (it may not be in our time), an architecture which shall be worthy of the high advance which man has made in every other direction towards the possession of the tree of knowledge."[1333]

These statements reveal the major difference between Jones, Pugin, and Ruskin. While the others promoted their own personal vision of architecture and failed to see their ideas adopted as they wished, Jones realized that a new universal architecture had to come from more than one individual. As a result, he worked to disseminate his ideas through a variety of means available to architects and the public so that a shift in taste could be effected and a new style appropriate to the age would be realized.[1334] Once this difference is understood, Jones can no longer be described as a man of average ability, lacking the genius to create a new style, as Nicolette Gray has suggested,[1335] or a failure as Crook and others have proposed, but as a true genius and a pioneer of modernism. Consequently, the impact of his designs, his principles, and his *Grammar of Ornament* on Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier, and others, confirms his insight and ability.

The significance and success of Jones's contributions are further substantiated by the articles written at the time of his death, the memorials,[1336] and the

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[1332]Jones, *Grammar of Ornament,* p. 156.

[1333]*Ibid.*

[1334]"...the rising generation in both classes [architects and the public] are born under happier auspices, and it is to them we must look for hope in the future. It is for their use that we have gathered together this collection of works of the past;...that artists should, by an attentive examination of the principles which pervade all the works of the past, and which have excited universal admiration, be led to the creation of new forms equally beautiful." *Ibid.*

[1335]Nicolette Gray, "Prophets of the Modern Movement," *Architectural Review* (London), 81, 1937, pp. 49-50.

[1336]The Owen Jones Memorial Committee included: Henry Brassey, M.P., John Brinton, Charles Barry, W. Burges, J. G. Crace, Henry Cole, C.B., Alan Sumerley Cole, Charles Collard, Joseph Durham, A.R.A., Warren De La Rue, F.R.S., W.W. De La Rue, Dr. C. Dresser, George Godwin, F.R.S., Peter Graham, Forster Graham, James Gurney, Howard

unprecedented exhibition of his works held in 1874.[1337] *The Building News* said: "Mr. Owen Jones was one of those exceptional men who have lived to see their labour and the principles they inculcated in a great measure realised,"[1338] and noted that "The teachings of Ruskin may have done something, but the beautiful works of Owen Jones, and the examples of the true principles of decorative Art he has left us in the courts at Sydenham have largely educated the popular eye and taste in this direction."[1339] This assessment continues: "Unlike some of his *confrères* in Art, he was content to live and work, not for the creation of a narrow individuality or style, but for the higher motive, the unselfish promulgation of true principles,"[1340] and his work "never loses sight of the main and dominant principles of architecture proper or the ruling laws of design, and we do not remember him in any instance to have fallen into the mere specialist or ornamentist."[1341]

Many of the professional publications reprinted or summarized the principles he articulated and reviewed examples of his architectural accomplishments, such as the

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Kennard, Coleridge Kennard, John Lewis, Professor Hayter Lewis, Markham Law, James Mason, Alfred Morrison, Follett Osler, Samuel Parr, Robert Phillips, George Redford, Alfred Strong, James Templeton, W. L. Winans, Sir M. Digby Wyatt, F.S.A., T. H. Wyatt, and F. O . Ward. This committee composed of friends, colleagues, and clients attests to Jones's admiration and respect in the profession and with the public. The money raised was used for a mosaic portrait of Jones placed in the South Kensington Museum; unfortunately, this piece has disappeared.

[1337]I am grateful to Elizabeth Darby, Ph.D. for pointing out the fact that this type of memorial exhibition was extraordinary for an architect of the time. I am also grateful to Valerie Phillips for sending me an excerpt from the 1851 Commission: Board of Management, Minutes of 6 May, 1874 indicating that "Mr. Cole read a letter from Mrs. Owen Jones stating that a Committee of Gentlemen were about to form a collection of the works of the late Mr. Owen Jones for the purpose of exhibiting them, and requesting that space might be afforded to them at the International Exhibition, in the late Belgian Annexe or elsewhere - The Board approved of the Exhibition, when formed, being placed in the Belgium Annexe." Letter from Valerie Phillips to Carol Flores, August 30, 1994.

[1338]*The Building News*, April 24, 1874, p. 440.

[1339]*Ibid.*

[1340]*Ibid.*

[1341]*Ibid.*

acoustics in St. James Hall.[1342] *The Furniture Gazette* acknowledged the fact that Jones had revived the taste for the ornamental decoration of walls and ceilings "which he afterwards supplied by showing and insisting upon the desirability of flat conventional ornament, introducing nothing out of keeping with the material employed, or the use to which it was to be put."[1343] This review continued, saying "He has had the honour of being our first and principal deliverer...from the dominion of sprawling floral patterns, in apparent relief, on our wall-papers, and carpets, and of pointing out and exemplifying the superior beauty and fitness of smaller and more geometrically-constructed designs,"[1344] and further, "his rules laid down in regard to designs of this kind have been accepted and acted upon almost universally by our best decorators; by some who now are unwilling to admit his credit as the forerunner of the movement."[1345]

In another article, *The Furniture Gazette* critiqued the items displayed in the exhibit of Jones's work held at the Crystal Palace at Sydenham and concluded by discussing the examples of decorative stationery which Jones had designed for Messrs. De la Rue & Co. The writer recognized that: "He [Jones] must have seen how important a field this was in an educational point of view; that is as a means of cultivating the perceptions of those who use fancy stationery, and habituating them to see and expect, and finally to want, the charming combinations of form and colour"[1346] he produced. The reviewer continued: "The use of a discriminating taste...impressed the public eyesight, habituating all who used these articles to variety of form and colour in ornaments which, probably, scarcely any other field of

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[1342]"S. James's Hall was also designed and erected by him, and from the opinion of musicians may be considered a very successful effort towards an acoustical building, and one of the finest proportioned music-halls in Europe. *Ibid.*

[1343]*Furniture Gazette,* July 25, 1874, p. 601.

[1344]*Ibid.*

[1345]*Ibid.*

[1346]*Furniture Gazette,* May 2, 1874, p. 432.

operation would have opened so widely and so rapidly,"[1347] and attributed "a considerable amount of the improvement of public taste in its demands for better and truer decoration to the widespread influence of the ornamental stationery issued during the last twenty years by Messrs. De la Rue, from designs by and under the artistic guidance of the late Owen Jones."[1348]

This dissertation has shown Jones to be more than the lavish decorator and minor architect described by others; by studying the work of Owen Jones within the context of his age and his profession, he has emerged as a perceptive theorist and practitioner who exercised a profound influence on the style and thinking of his time. This examination also revealed that Jones emphasized ornament, not as a second, alternative activity to the practice of building, but as an integral part of architectural reform and as a natural consequence of his belief that "a new style of ornament may be produced independently of a new style of architecture; and, moreover, that it would be one of the readiest means of arriving at a new style."[1349] By introducing conventionalized ornament and polychromatic decoration to England and adopting new materials and technology, Jones accomplished an enormous transformation in the style and practice of the period. In addition, he exerted tremendous influence through his lectures and publications, his professional activities, and his projects and built works. Based on this evidence, Owen Jones deserves a place in future nineteenth-century studies alongside A.W.N. Pugin and John Ruskin as a major figure central to British architectural history and theory.

[1347]The writer noted "Apart from illuminated and decorated books, there are almanacks, diaries, invitation cards, playing-cards, even bank-notes, and bill-papers, to say nothing of small placards and labels." *Furniture Gazette,* May 2, 1874, p. 432.

[1348]*Ibid.*

[1349]Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament,* p. 155.

APPENDIX A

SELECTED WORKS

1830	Competition entry, Birmingham Town Hall. Winner: Hansom.
1839	Competition entry, St. George's Town Hall, Liverpool. Winner: Elmes
1840	Four houses, Westbourne Terrace, London.
1840	Interior decoration, Wimborne House, 22 Arlington St., London
1842	Designs for book covers, title pages, etc., Longman's, London
1843	8 KensingtonPalace Gardens, London, demolished 1961
1844	Competition entry, Houses of Parliament floors, London
1844	Begins designing products for De la Rue, London
1845	Competition for Baths & Washhouses, London. Winner: Baly
1845	24 Kensington Palace Gardens, London
1845	7 Sussex Terrace, London
1845	12 Westbourne Terrace, London
1845	Project with Antenor Joly, Leicester Square, London
1845	Morrison dairy and cottages, London
1847	Competition entry, Army and Navy Club, London. Winner: Tattersall
1848	Pavement by Jones, 3 Hyde Terrace, Bateman/Corson, Leeds
1849	Villa Alderman Moon, London
1849	Alhambra stove for Hoole, Birmingham Exhibition
1850	Chappell's, Bond Street, London
1850	84 Westbourne Terrace, London
1850	Interior Decoration, Vuillamy's All Saints Ennismore Gardens, London
1851	Interior Decoration, Wild's Christ Church, Streatham, under restoration
1851	Gold Medal for Chromolithography, Great Exhibition, London
1851	Superintendent of Works and Interior Scheme, 1851 Exhibition
1852	Addiscombe, Surrey, demolished
1852-4	Interior and Fine Arts Courts, Crystal Palace, Sydenham, destroyed
1854	Interior Decoration, St. Bartholomew, Sutton Waldron, Dorset, restored
1855	Gold Medal of Honor with Jackson & Graham, Paris Exhibition
1856	St. James Concert Hall, Piccadilly, London, demolished 1905
1856	Interior, Houbigant's, 216 Regent Street, London, demolished @1900
1856	Color consulting, Carlisle Cathedral
1856	Interior Decoration, Jay's, 247 Regent Street, London, rebuilt 1923
1856	Competition, Manchester Exhibition Building. Winner: Salamons
1857	Crystal Palace Bazaar, London, demolished 1890

1858 Osler's, 76 Oxford Street, London, demolished 1926
1859 Project, Palace of the People Muswell Hill, London
1859 Unexecuted project, United Service Club, 116 Pall Mall, London
1860 Proposals, Permanent Exhibition Building, St. Cloud, Paris, France
1861 Hancock's, Bruton Street, London, gone
1861 Shops and cottages, London for Hancock, demolished
1862 Osler's wing added, London, demolished 1926
1862 Decoration, Overstone Hall, Northampton, Jones's work doesn't survive
1862 Facade and concert room, Collard & Collard, 16 Grosvenor Street, rebuilt
1862 Temple for Tinted Venus, destroyed
1862 Exhibition stand, Osler's, London, destroyed
1863 Indian, Chinese, & Japanese Courts. South Kensington Museum, gone
1863 Decoration, *The Priory,* 21 Northbank, Regent's Park, London, destroyed
1863 Decoration, Baptist Chapel, Cornwall Road, Notting Vale, demolished
1863 Decoration, Charing Cross Hotel, London, Jones's work doesn't survive
1863 Interiors, Fonthill House, Gifford, Wiltshire, demolished
1864 Interiors, Viceroy's Palace, Cairo, Egypt (Marriott Hotel)
1864 Interior Decoration, Langham Hotel, London, altered
1864 Interior Decoration, 12A Kensington Palace Gardens, altered
1865 Interiors, 16 Carlton House Terrace, London, restored
1865 Interior Decoration, Fishmonger's Hall, London, destroyed in World War II, but rebuilt with some sympathy for Jones's earlier work
1865 Competition, St. Pancras, London. Winner: G. G. Scott
1865 Paxton Memorial, Crystal Palace, Sydenham, survives in place
1866 Scheme for Derby Market Hall, Derby completed by Mr. Cantrill
1866 Kiosk for Bombay India with Ordish, whereabouts unknown
1866 Interior Decoration, Preston Hall, Kent, two ceilings survive
1867 Competition, National Gallery, London. No result
1870 Interior Decoration, 43 York Terrace, London, demolished 1941
1871 Major expansion and renovation, Eynsham Hall, Oxfordshire
1871 "True & False Principles" Exhibit in South Kensington Museum, London
1871 Catalogue cover, Maw and Company, London
1872 Renovations and additions, Eynsham Hall, Oxford, demolished 1904
1872 Haywood shopfront, Derby, demolished 1924
1873 *Abbotsfield,* Wivelscombe, Somerset, altered
1873 Cabinet exhibited, gold medal with Jackson and Graham, Vienna
1873 Exhibition Stand for Huntley & Palmer, Vienna Exhibition, destroyed
1874 Color consulting and chimney design, Star Works, Huntley & Palmer, Bunhill Row, London, demolished

APPENDIX B

THE PROSPECTUS FOR KENSINGTON PALACE GARDENS

PARTICULARS AND CONDITIONS

FOR

LETTING ON BUILDING LEASES

FOR THE ERECTION THEREON OF FIRST-RATE SUBSTANTIAL RESIDENCES,

SEVERAL PLOTS OF GROUND

(SHEWN IN THE ANNEXED PLAN)

AT KENSINGTON,

LATELY FORMING PART OF THE ROYAL KITCHEN GARDEN

THE GROUND

Is a fine gravelly soil; the greater part averages 45 feet above the level of th High Street of Kensington, and 80 feet above high-water mark, and there are now, within it, the means of an abundant supply of good spring water. It commands a fine view of Kensington Gardens and the Parks adjoining it; and it is not intended that any Brick Wall or Close Fence should be built along any portion of the Queen's Road.

THE TERM

To be granted, of each Plot, is to be 99 years, to be computed from the 10th day of October, 1843, and the minimum amount of expenditure on each Plot is to be 3,000 pounds.

THE HOUSES ..Are to be rendered select and private, by the erection of Lodges and Gates at each end of the Queen's Road, which will be a straight avenue, 70 feet wide (except at the south end), extending from the Uxbridge Road to the High Street at Kensington, by which this site of ground will be connected with both the Great Western Roads, and with all the best parts of the West end of London: and it is presumed that the height of the ground, the nature of the soil, the springs of water within it, the proximity of Kensington Palace and Gardens, and the privacy of the Road, will contribute to render this the most desirable site for Buildings near London.

The Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods, &c., have built, at a depth sufficient to allow of the making of good Basement Stories to the Houses, &c., a Common or Main Sewer for the drainage of the Ground, and the Houses, and Buildings to be erected thereon. The Carriage Road is 45 feet wide, and the Footway, 12 feet 6 inches wide, on each side thereof. *All* the future repairs of this Road and its Footways are to be done by Her Majesty's Commissioners of Woods, &c., who are to keep charge of them.

The laying down of the Mains for the supply of Gas and Water, will be done by the respective Gas and Water Companies; but the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Woods, &c., are to put up the necessary Standards and Lamps, along the Queen's Road.

Her Majesty's Commissioners will also build a Lodge at each end of the Queen's Road, with appropriate Gates, Gate Piers, Lamp Standards, Lamps, and all requisite appendages; each of such Lodges, when finished, to be kept in repair by the said Commissioners, and to be occupied by a Gatekeeper to be apponted and paid by them.

The dimensions of each Plot marked on the plan are considered to be accurate, and they are to be taken so.

For further Particulars and Conditions apply to MR. OWEN JONES, Architect, 9 Argyll Place, Regent Street, or at the Office on the Ground.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This Bibliography is divided into four sections:

I. Works by Owen Jones (chronologically)
II. Works Containing Designs or Printing by Jones not in Section I
III. Biographical References to Jones
IV. Other References

Section I: Works by Owen Jones

1835 "The Influence of Religion Upon Art", Lecture.

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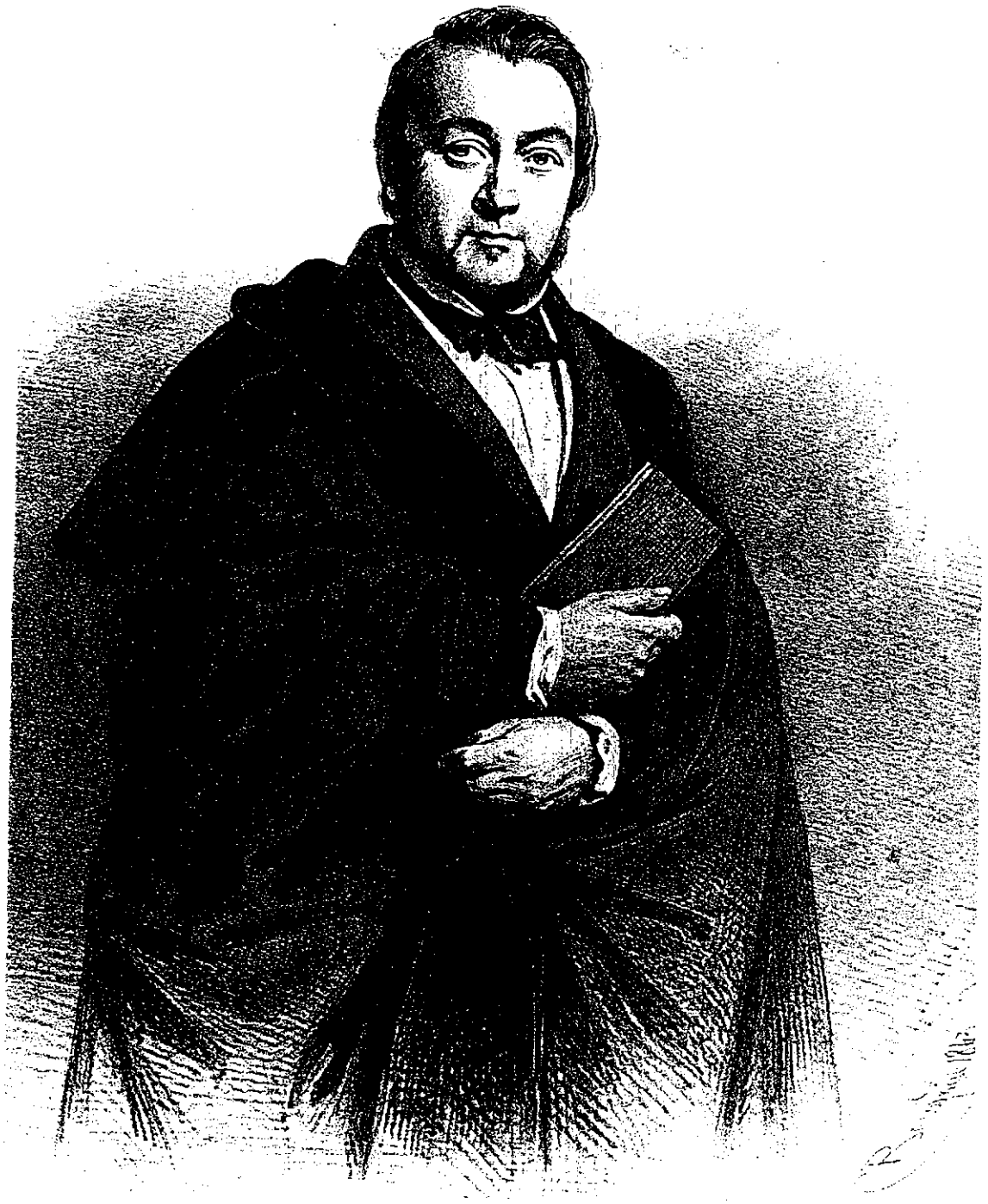


Figure 1. Portrait of Owen Jones by Charles Baugniet

MR. OWEN JONES, ARCHITECT,
Author of "The Grammar of Ornament."

Figure 2. LEFT Portrait of Owen Jones by Henry Wyndham Phillips, 1856
Figure 3. RIGHT Portrait of Owen Jones published in the *The Builder,* May 9, 1874, p. 383

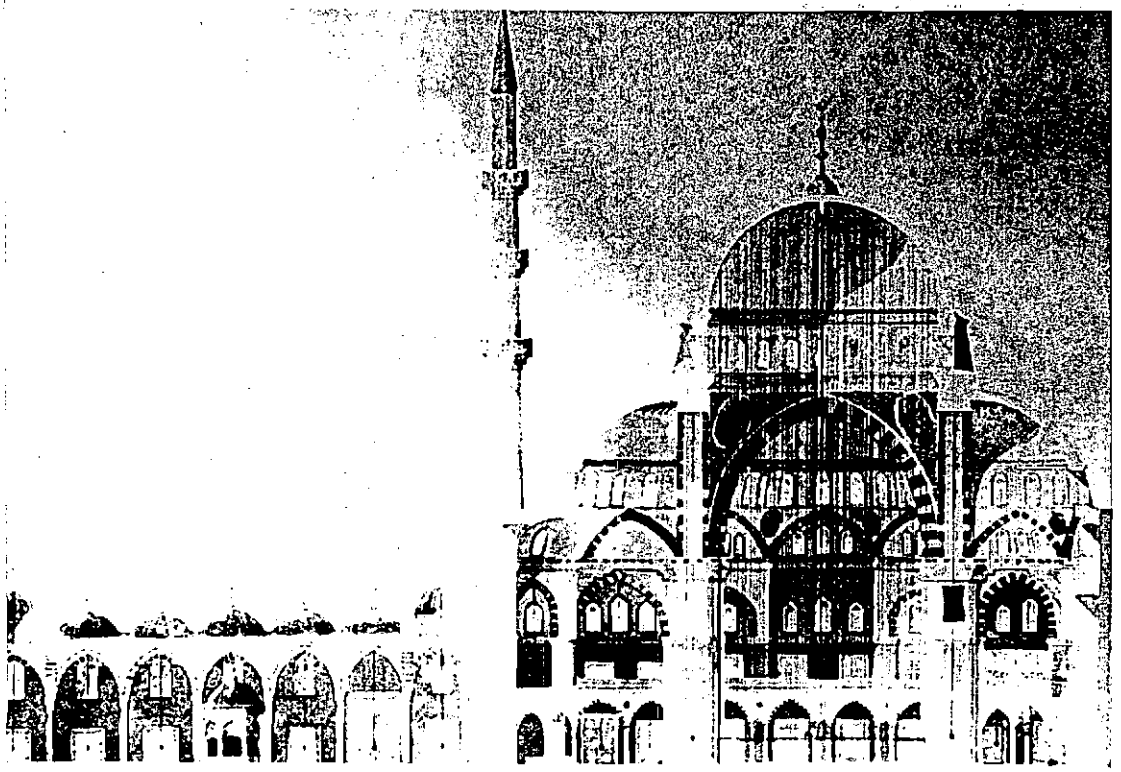


Figure 4. Section of the Yeni Valide Camii, Istanbul, by Owen Jones, 1833.

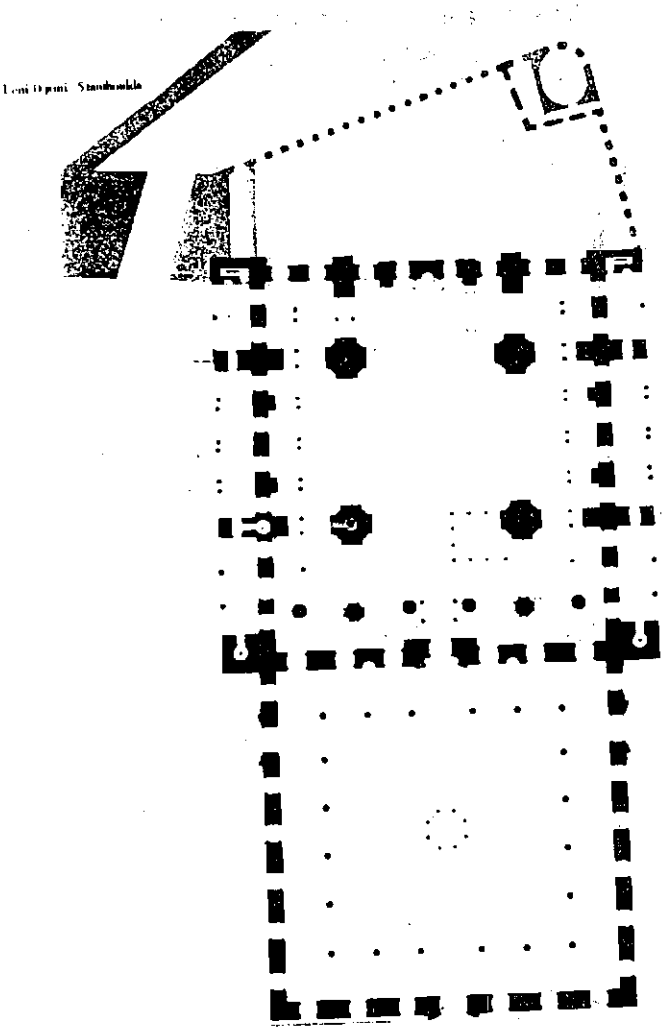
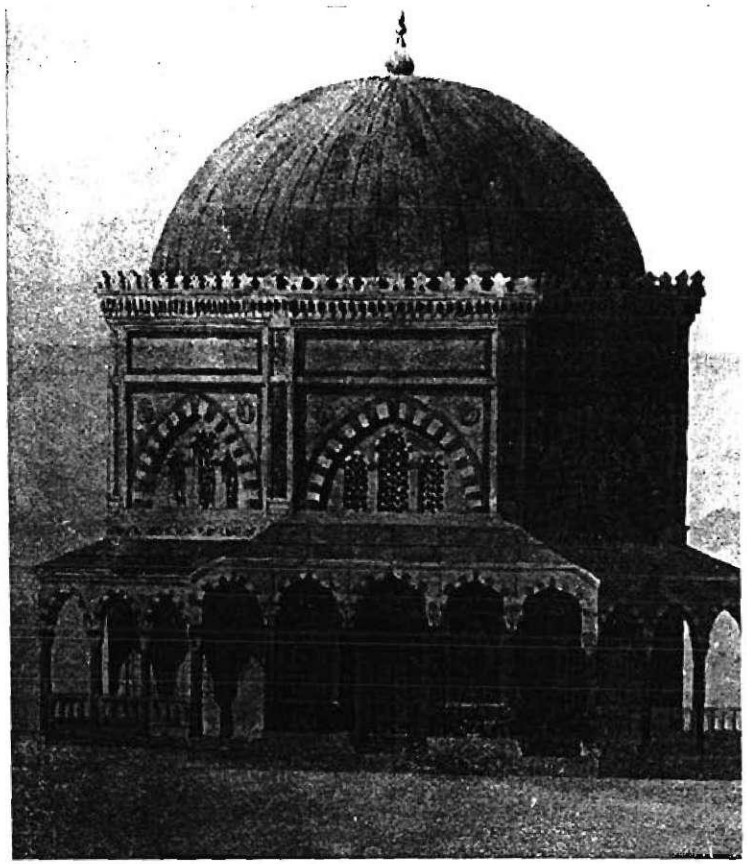


Figure 5. Plan, Yeni Valide Camii, Istanbul, by Owen Jones, 1833.



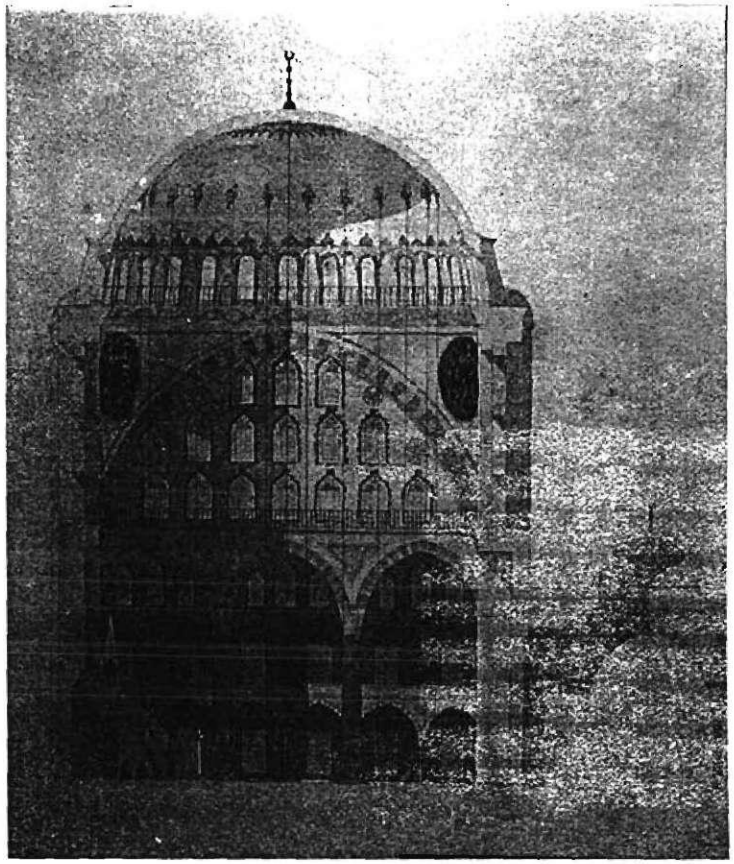
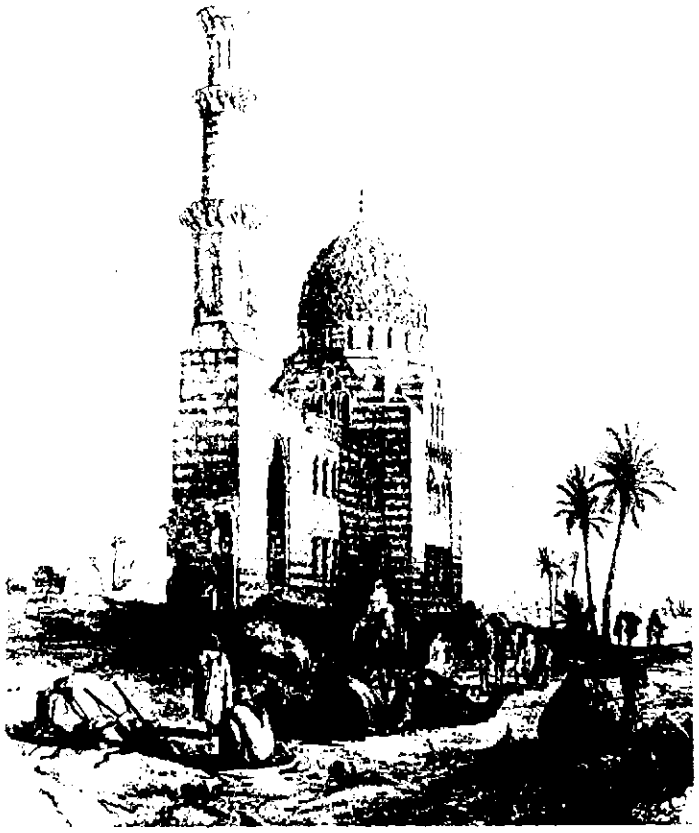


Figure 6. LEFT Elevation, the Tomb of Soliman I by Owen Jones
Figure 7. RIGHT Section, the Tomb of Soliman I by Owen Jones



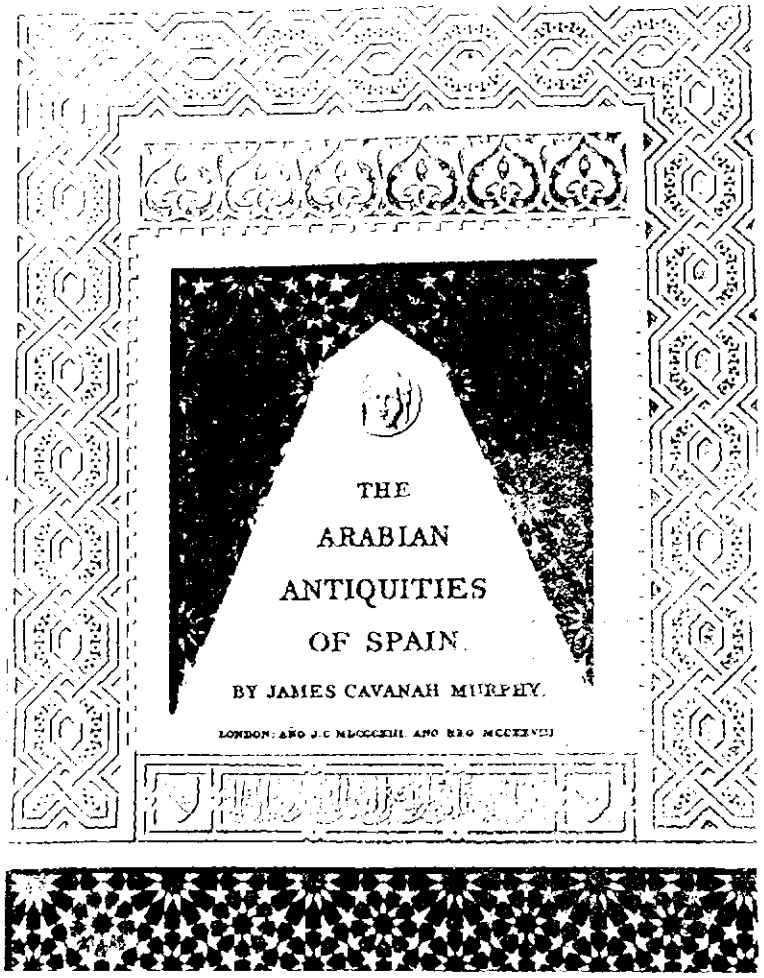


Figure 8. LEFT Unidentified tomb near Cairo signed by Owen Jones, Plate IV in *Views on the Nile from Cairo to the Second Cataract.*

Figure 9. RIGHT Title page, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain,* James Cavanah Murphy

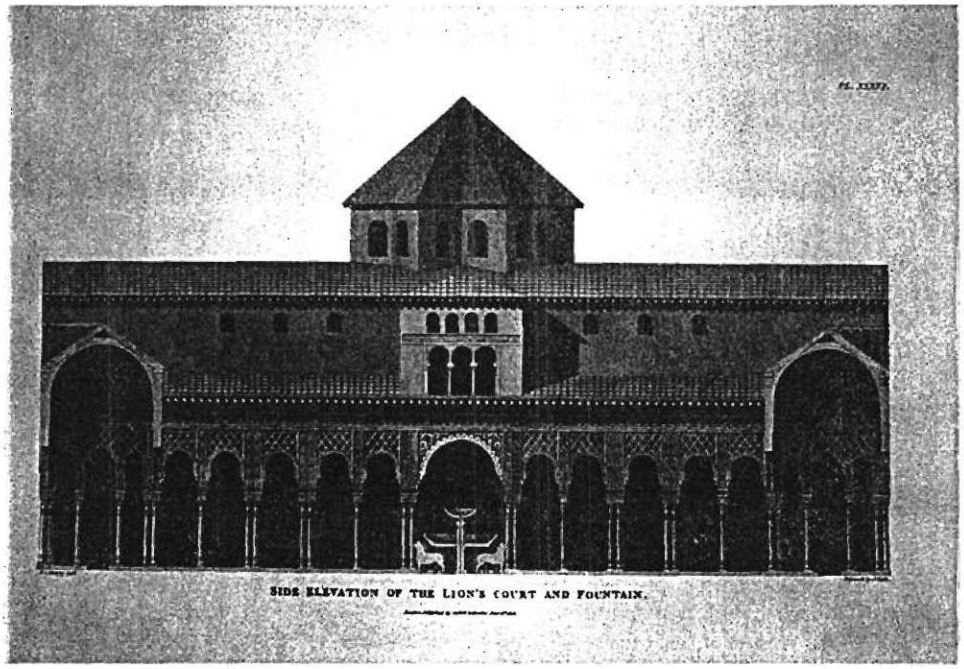


Figure 10. Lion's Court, Alhambra, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain,* Murphy

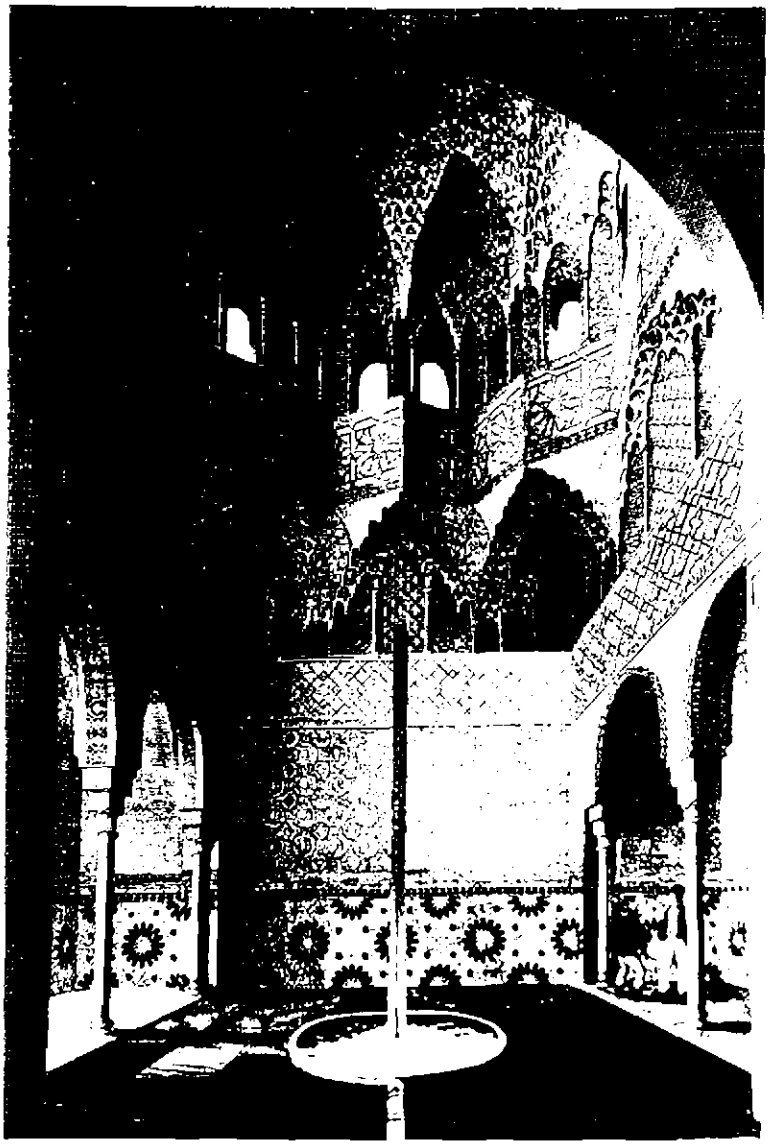


Figure 11. Interior, Alhambra, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain,* Murphy

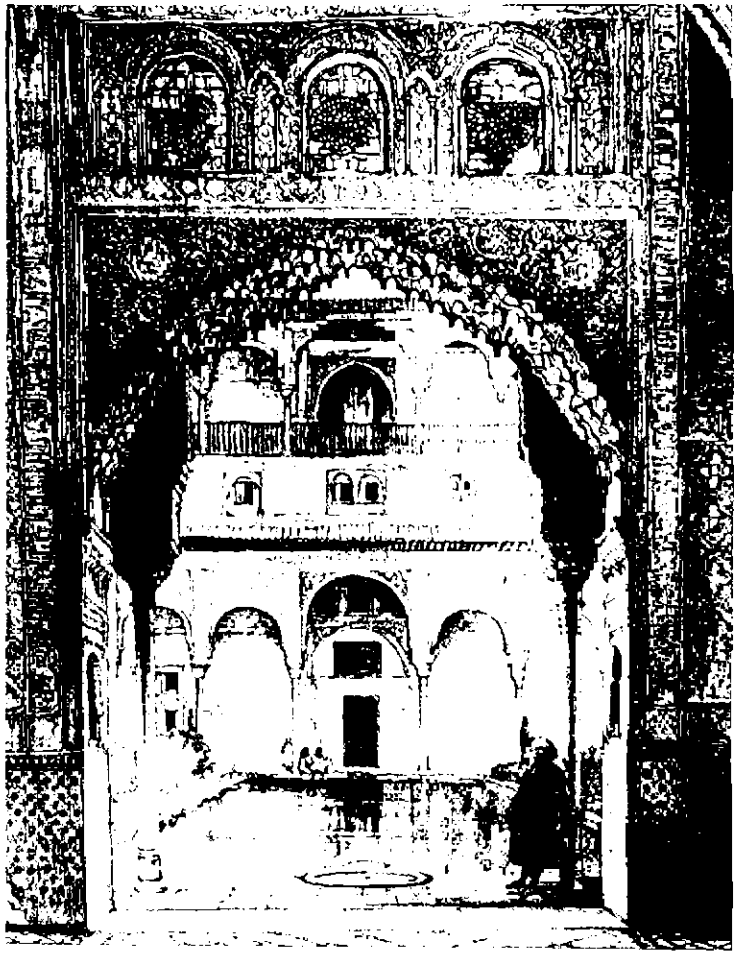


Figure 12. LEFT. View of the Alhambra, John Frederick Lewis, 1833
Figure 13. RIGHT. View of the Alhambra, John Frederick Lewis, 1833

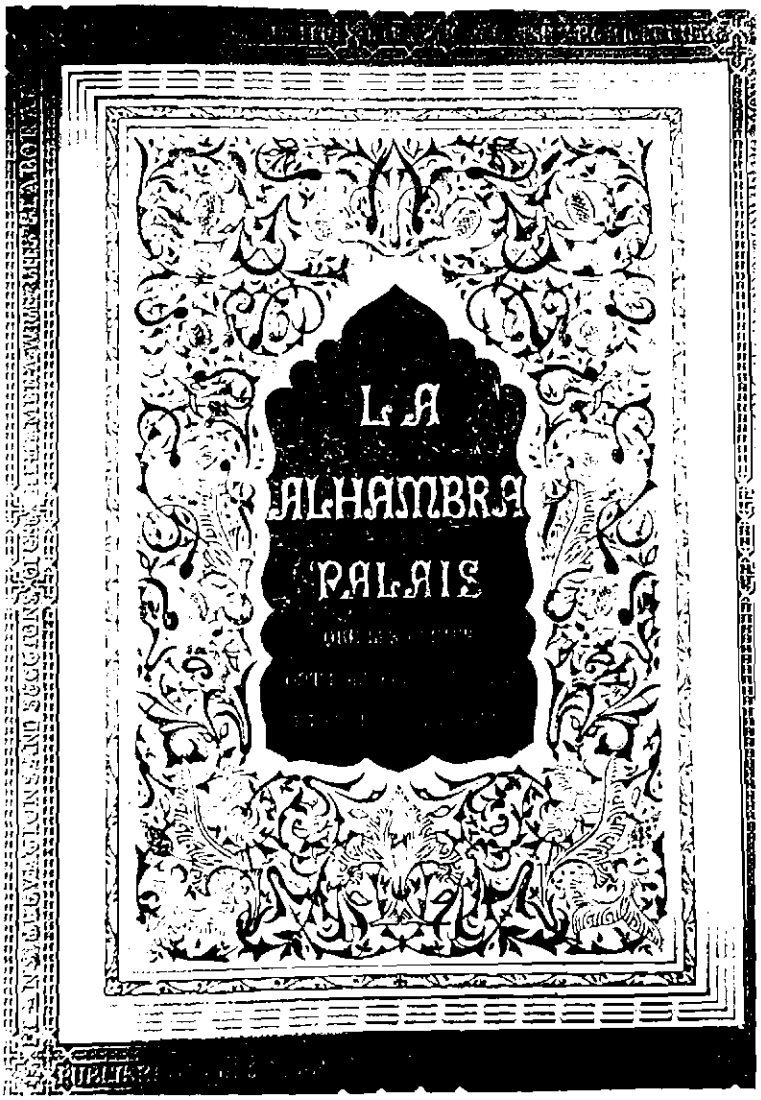
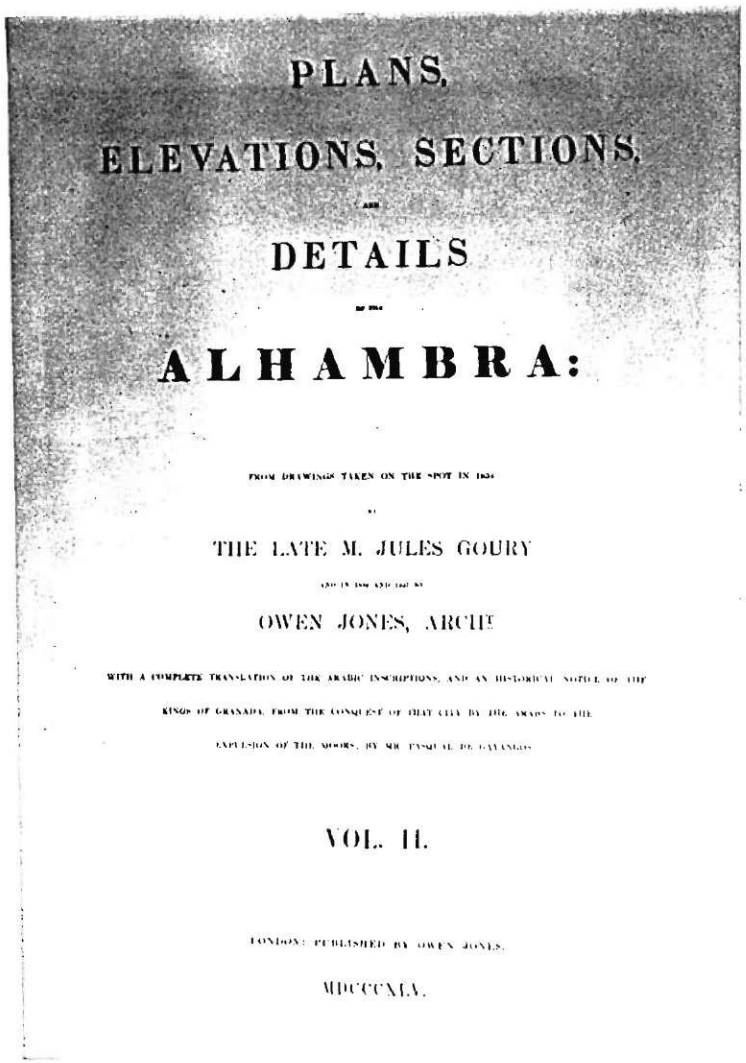


Figure 14. Cover, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, Jones


PLANS,

ELEVATIONS, SECTIONS,

AND

DETAILS

OF THE

ALHAMBRA:

FROM DRAWINGS TAKEN ON THE SPOT IN 1834

BY

THE LATE M. JULES GOURY

AND IN 1834 AND 1837 BY

OWEN JONES, ARCHT

WITH A COMPLETE TRANSLATION OF THE ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS, AND AN HISTORICAL NOTICE OF THE KINGS OF GRANADA, FROM THE CONQUEST OF THAT CITY BY THE ARABS TO THE EXPULSION OF THE MOORS, BY SIR PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS

VOL. II.

LONDON: PUBLISHED BY OWEN JONES.

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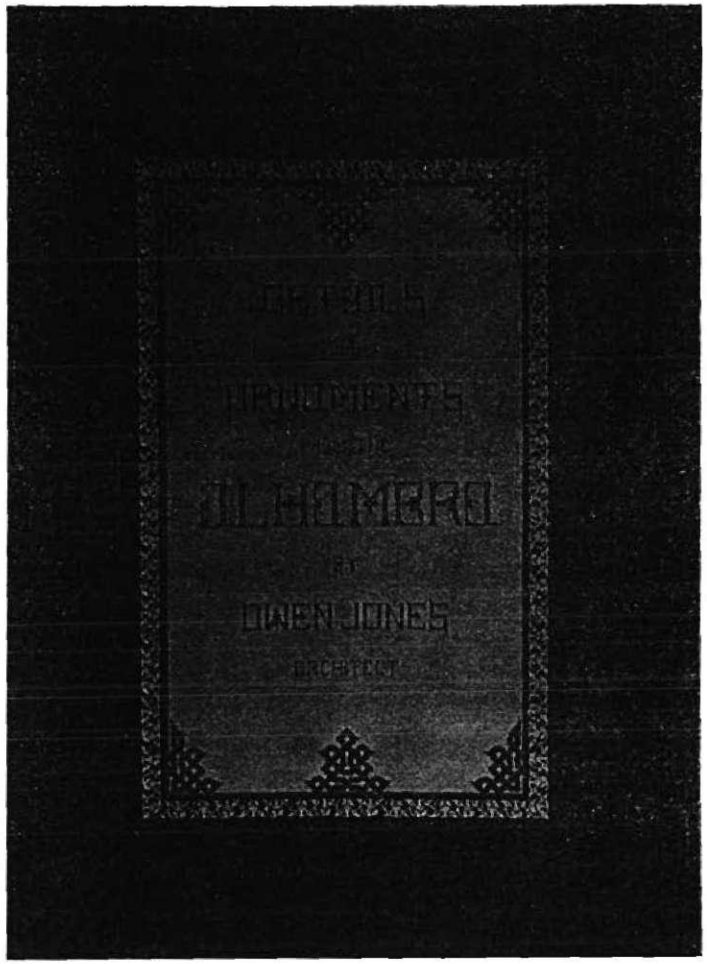


Figure 15. LEFT. Cover of the *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra,* Owen Jones, 1842-1845, 1875
Figure 16. RIGHT. Cover of Volume II, *Details and Ornaments from the Alhambra,* Owen Jones, 1842, 1845

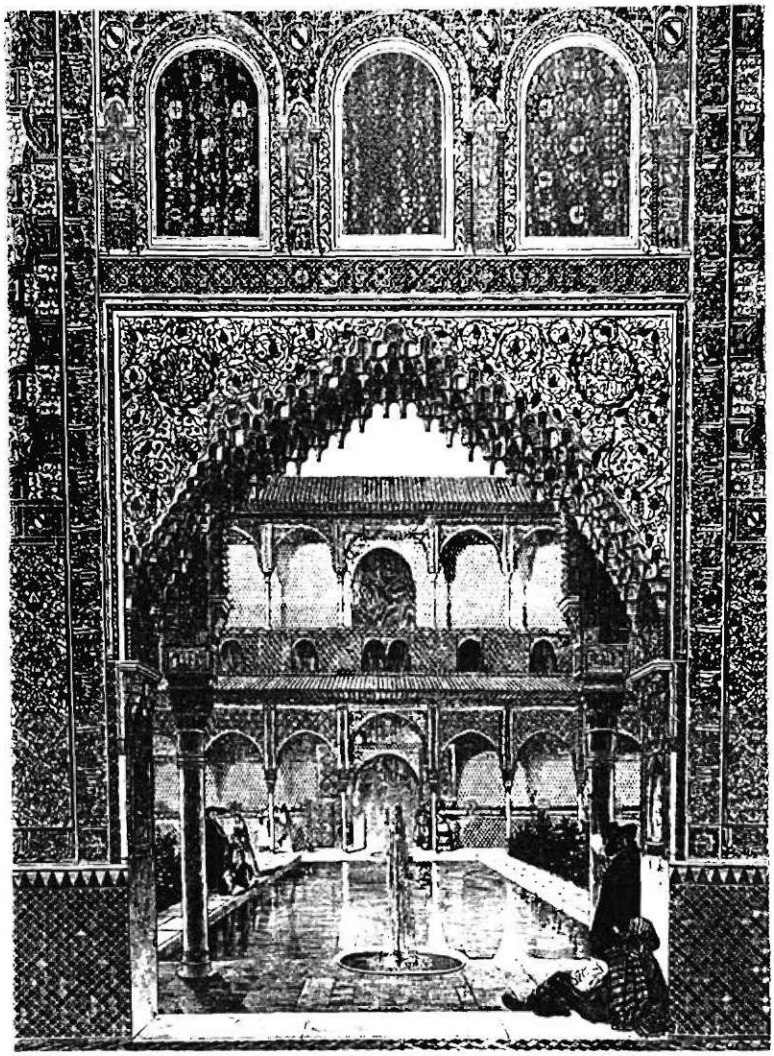
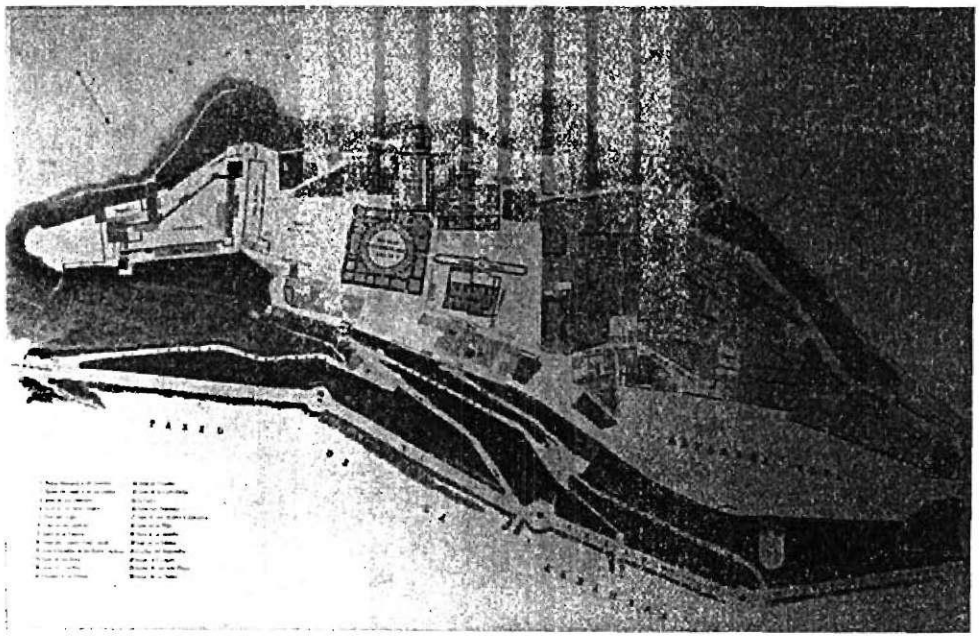


Figure 17. View of the North Facade of the Myrtle Court



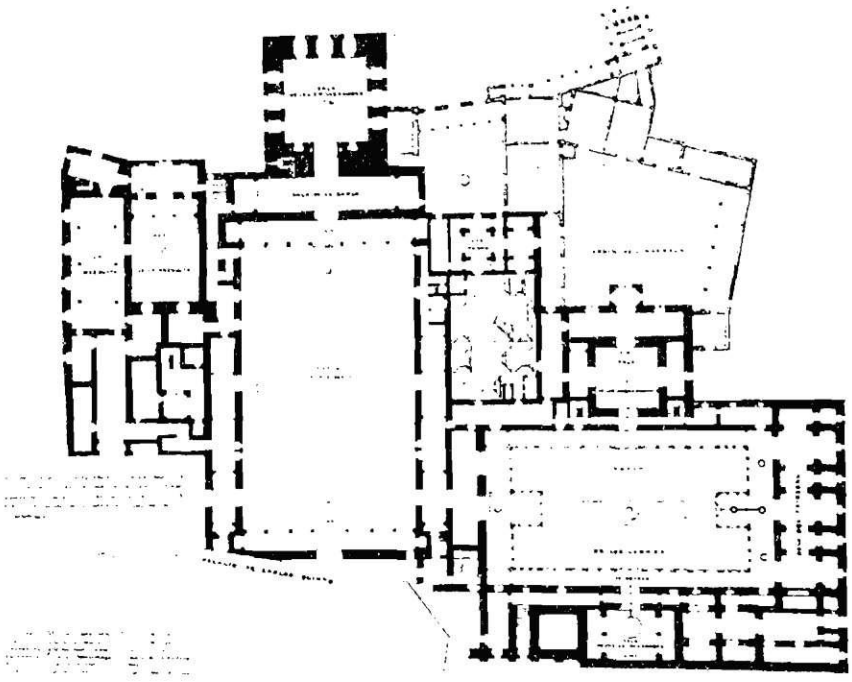
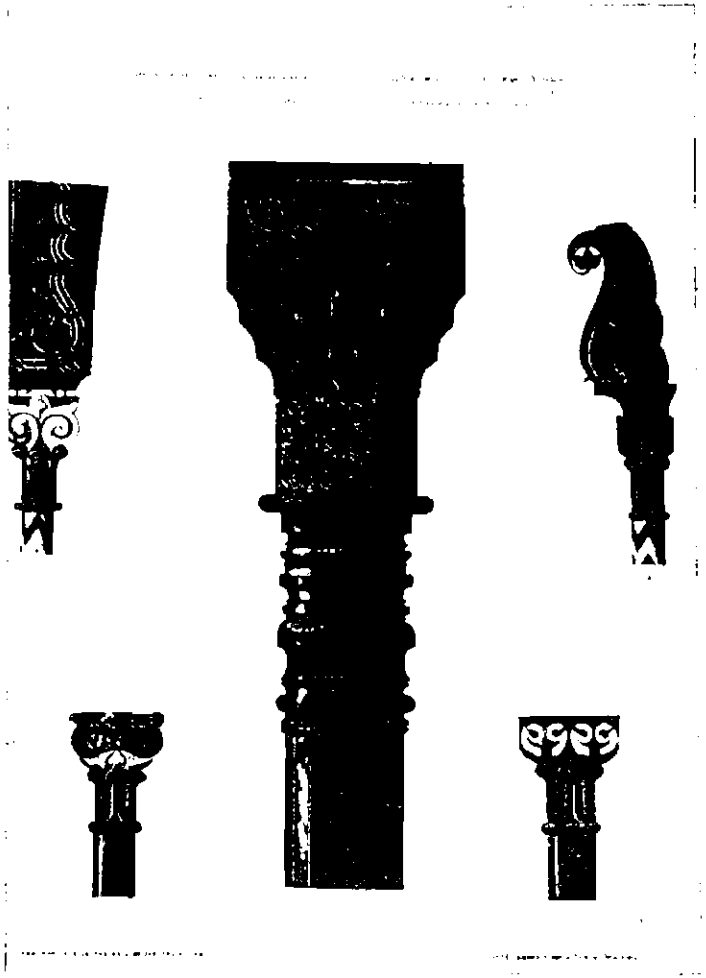


Figure 18. TOP General Plan of the Fortress of the Alhambra
Figure 19. BOTTOM Plan, Royal Arabian Palace in Fortress of the Alhambra



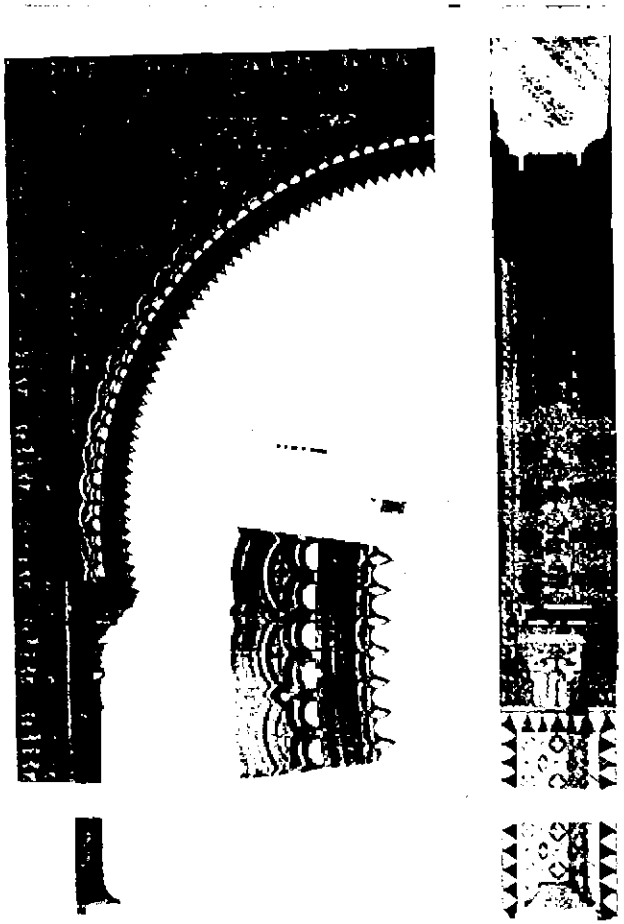
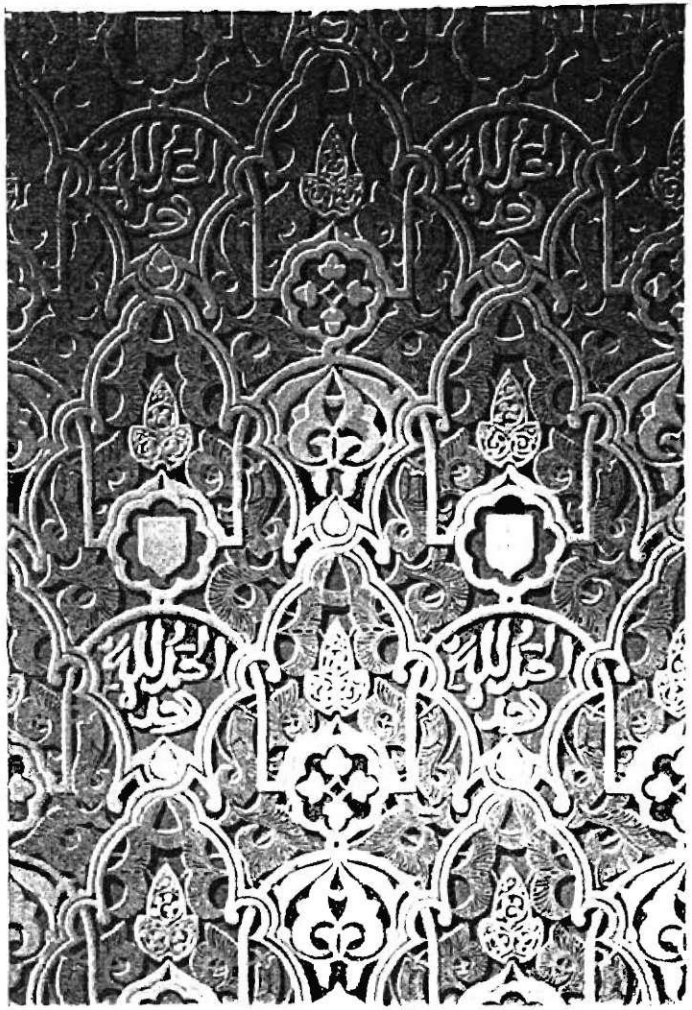


Figure 20. LEFT Details, Hall of the Ambassadors and the Two Sisters
Figure 21. RIGHT Plate XXVII, Vol. I, Details of an Arch, Hall of Justice



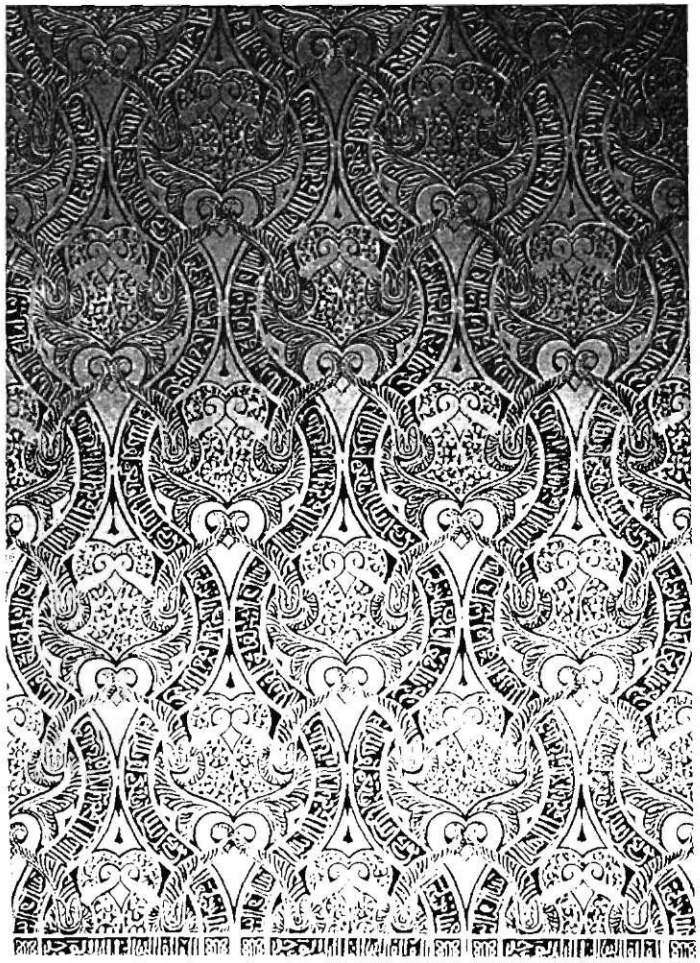
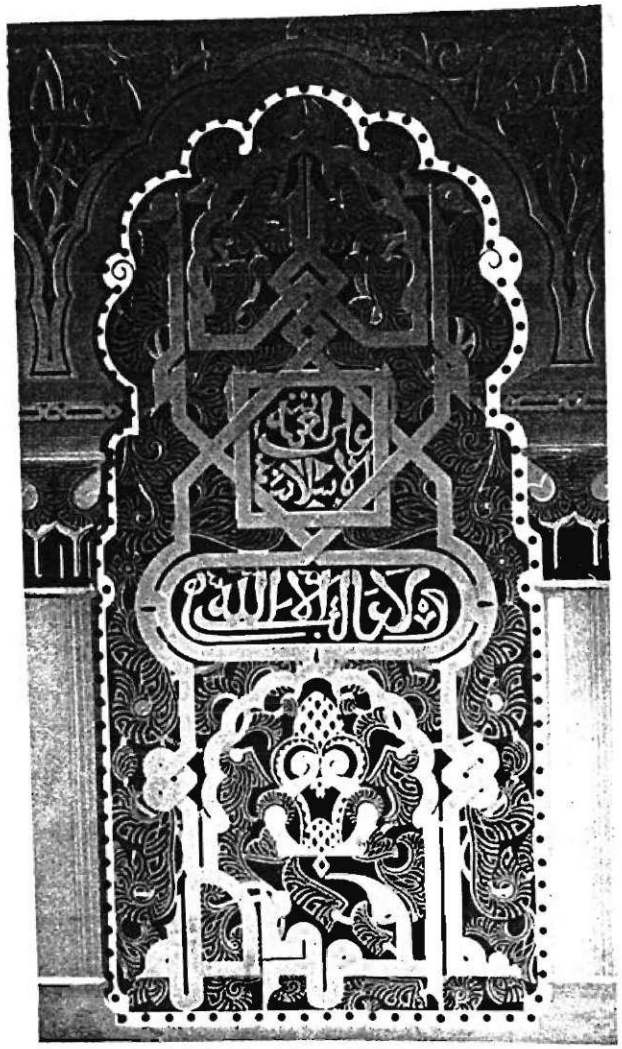


Figure 22. LEFT Plate XIX, Vol. II, Detail, Inscription
Figure 23. RIGHT Plate XXI, Vol. II, Detail, Inscription



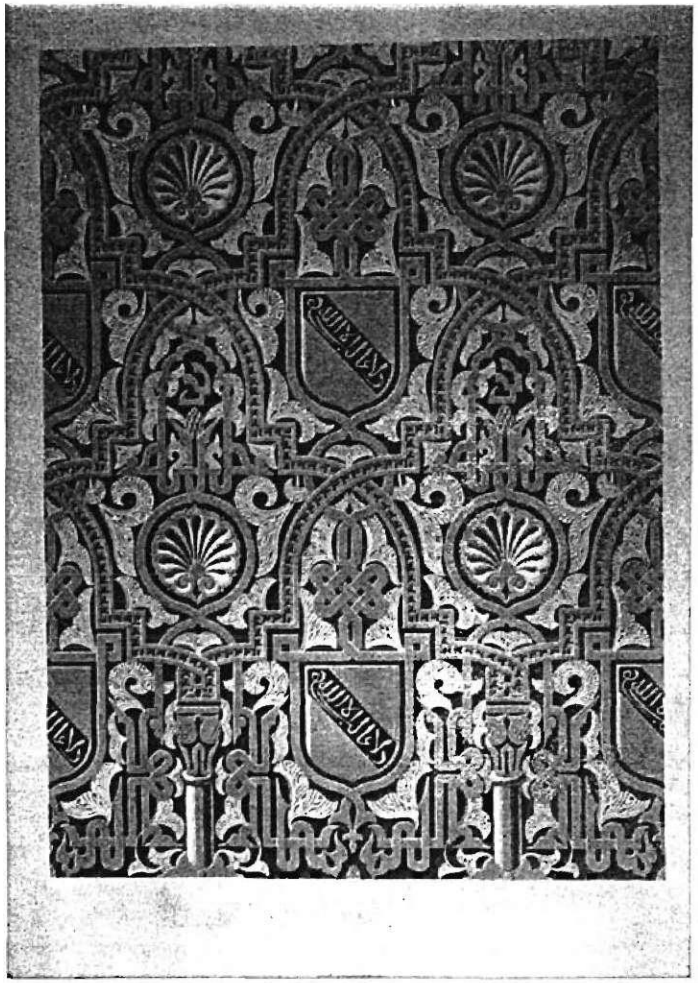


Figure 24. LEFT Plate XXIX, Vol. II, Detail, Inscription
Figure 25. RIGHT Detail, Inscription

"There is no conqueror but God." Arabic inscription from the Alhambra.

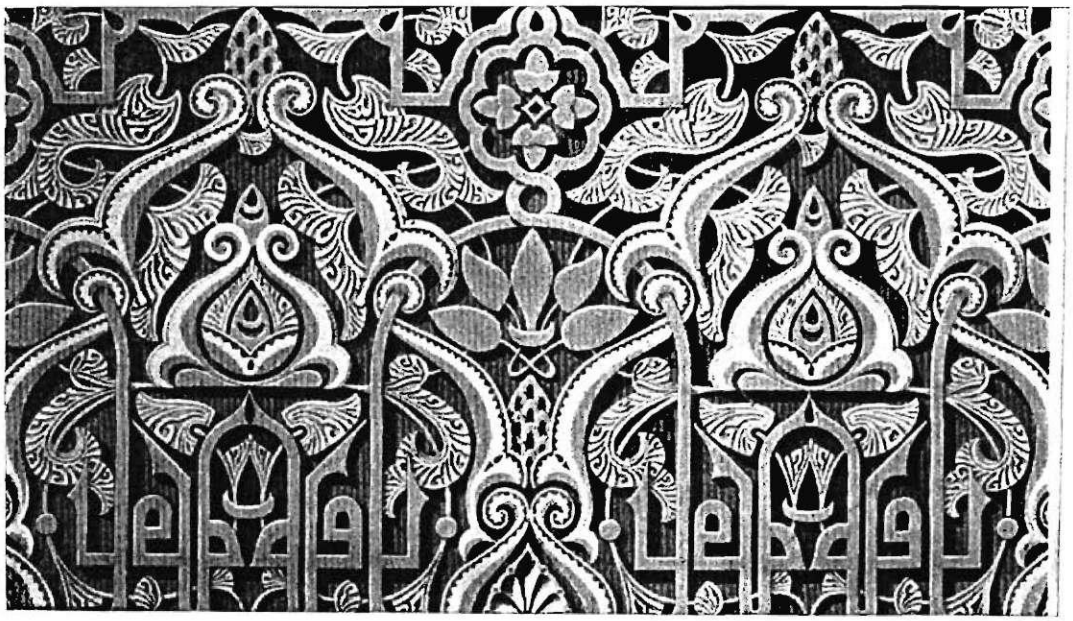


Figure 26. TOP Detail, Inscription
Figure 27. BOTTOM Detail, inscription

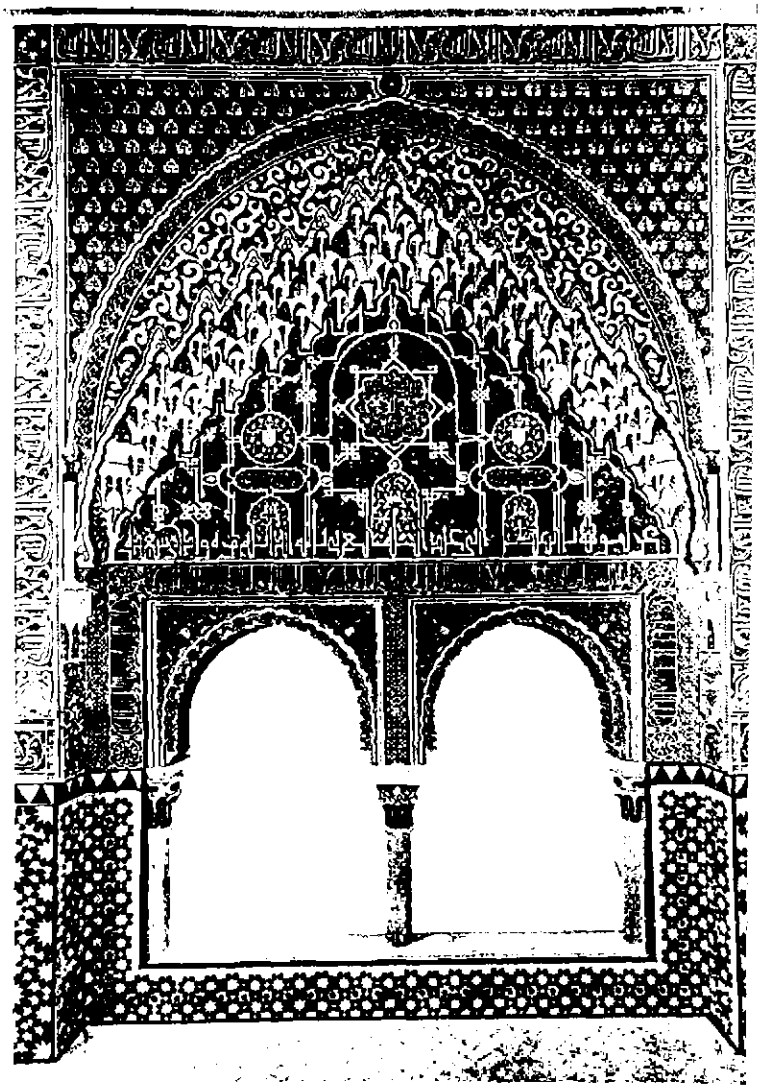
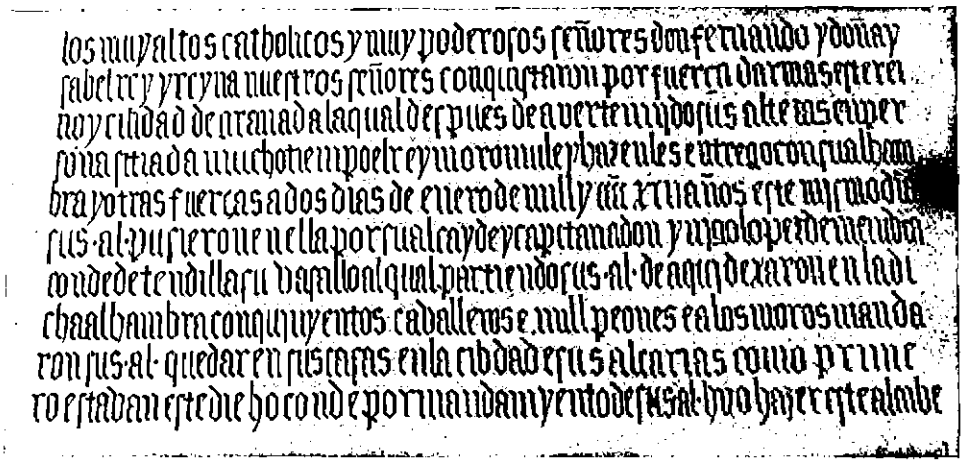
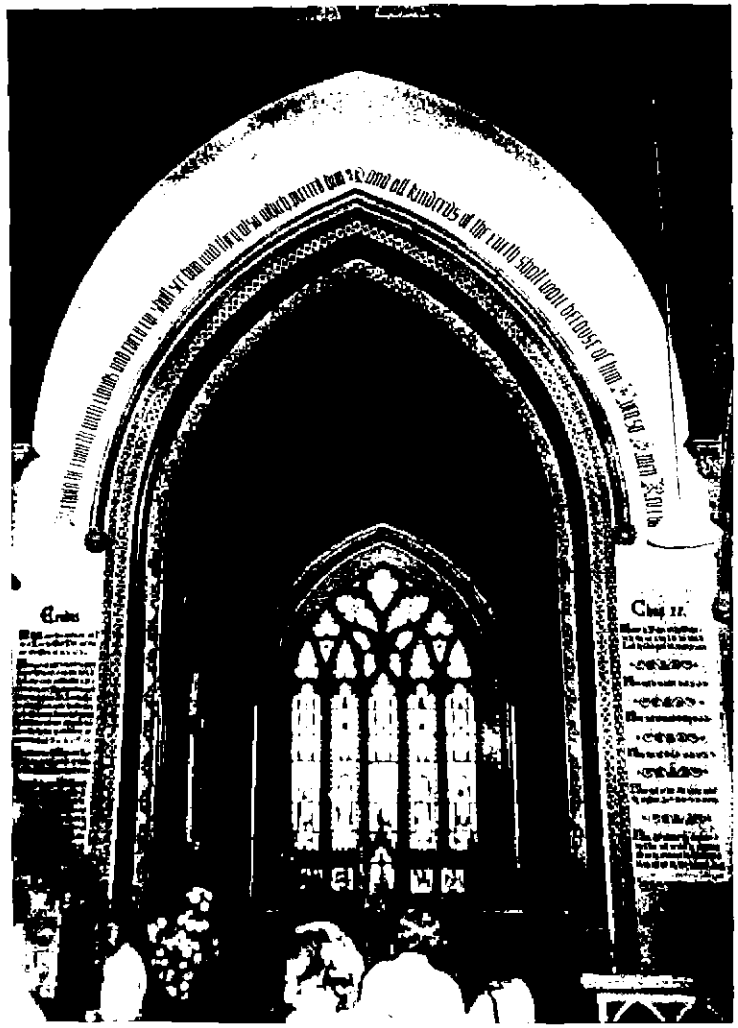


Figure 28. Windows in the Alcove. Hall of the Two Sisters



los muy altos catholicos y muy poderosos señores don fernando y doña
sabel rey y reyna nuestros señores conquistaron por fuerça darmas este
noble ciudad de granada la qual despues de auerte mydo sus alte mas siempre
fonta ffiada a muchotiempo el rey moro mulehaxen les entrego con qualbam
braya otras fuercas a dos dias de enero de mill y cccc xcii años este mismo dia
sus al pusieron en ella por sual cay de capitan don yñgo lopez de mendo
ca conde de tendilla su vasallo al qual parciendo sus al de aqui dexaron en la ci
dad al baambra con quinyentos caballeros e mill peones e a los moros mando
ron sus al quedar en sus casas en la ciudad e sus alcarias como primer
o estavan este dicho conde por mandado del rey nuestro señor fizo hazer este alaba

Figure 29. Medieval inscription on the Gate of Justice



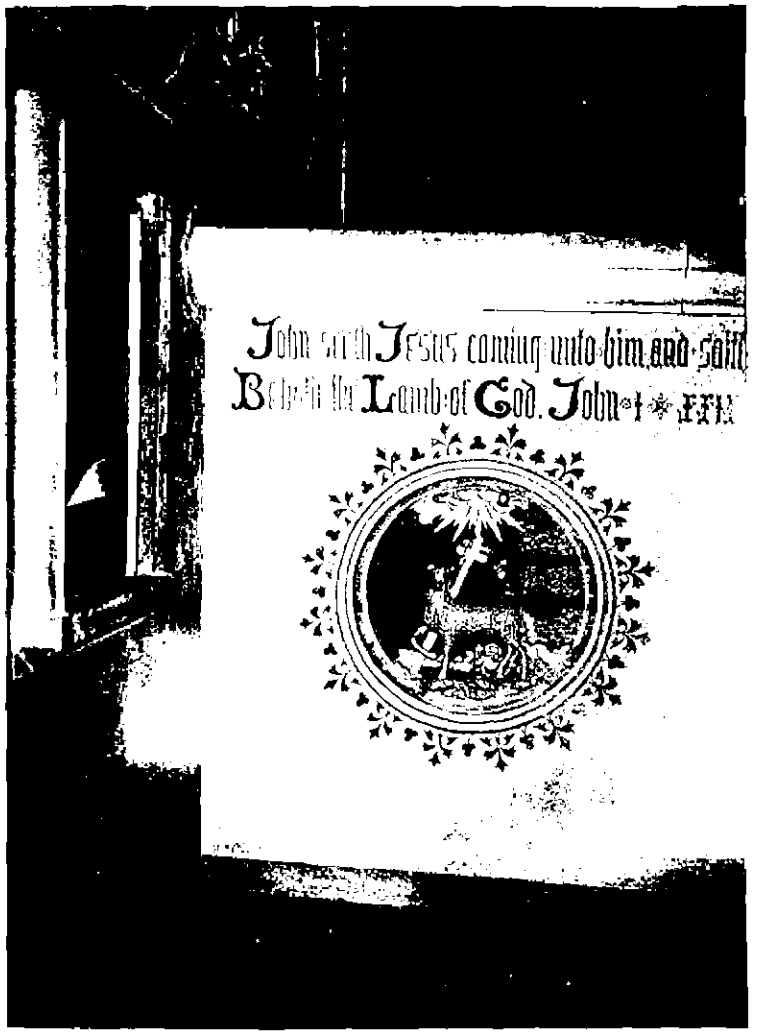
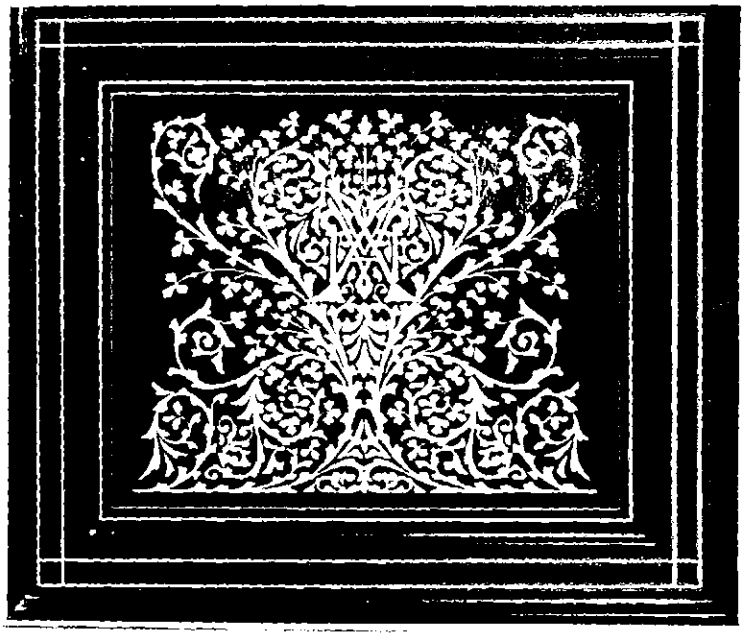


Figure 30. LEFT Interior, St. Bartholomew's, Sutton Waldron (Restored decorations)
Figure 31. RIGHT Interior, St. Bartholomew's, Sutton Waldron (Restored decorations)



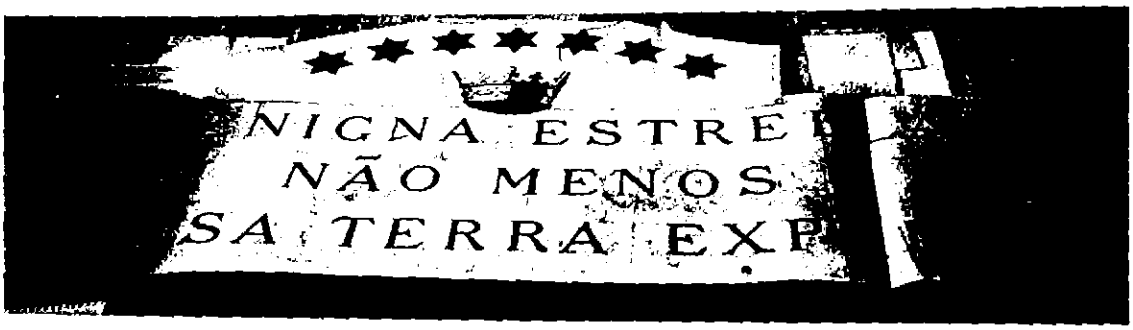
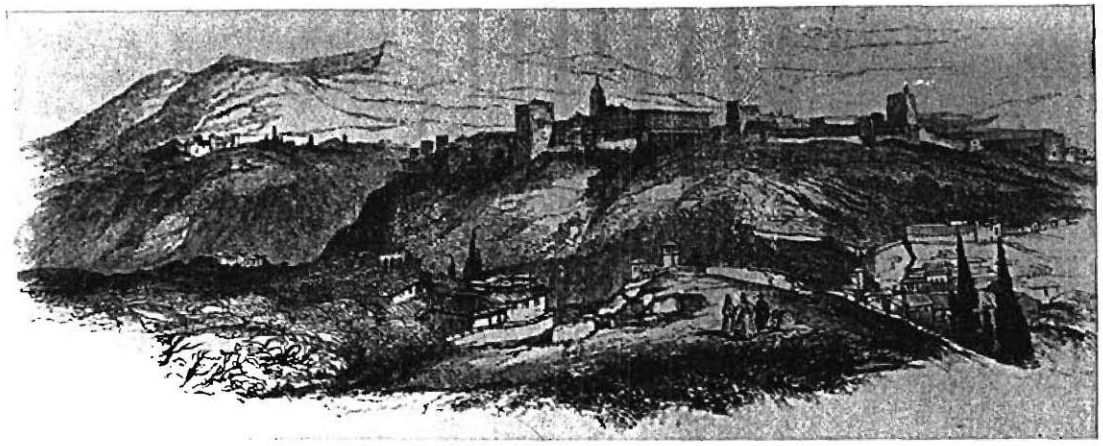
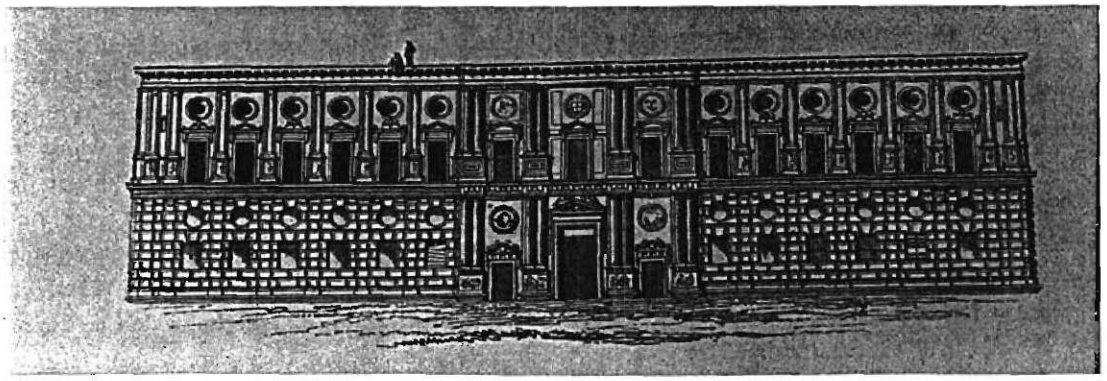


Figure 32. TOP Detail, stylized monogram for Alfred Morrison
Figure 33. BOTTOM Drawing, decoration of Eynsham Hall





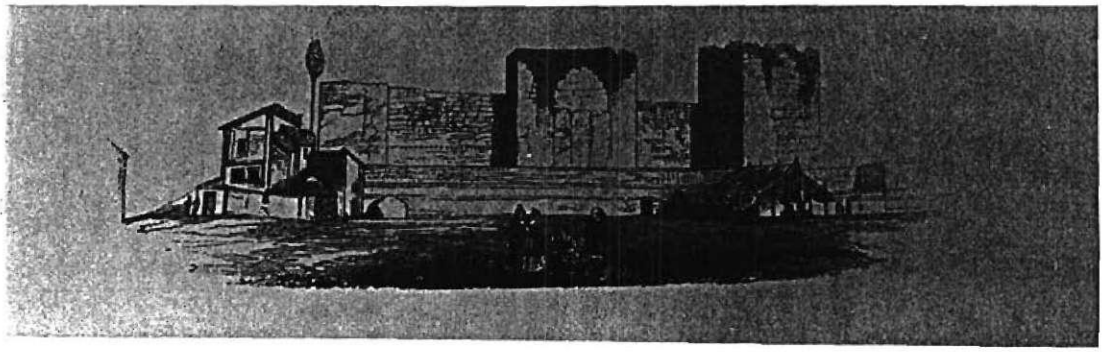
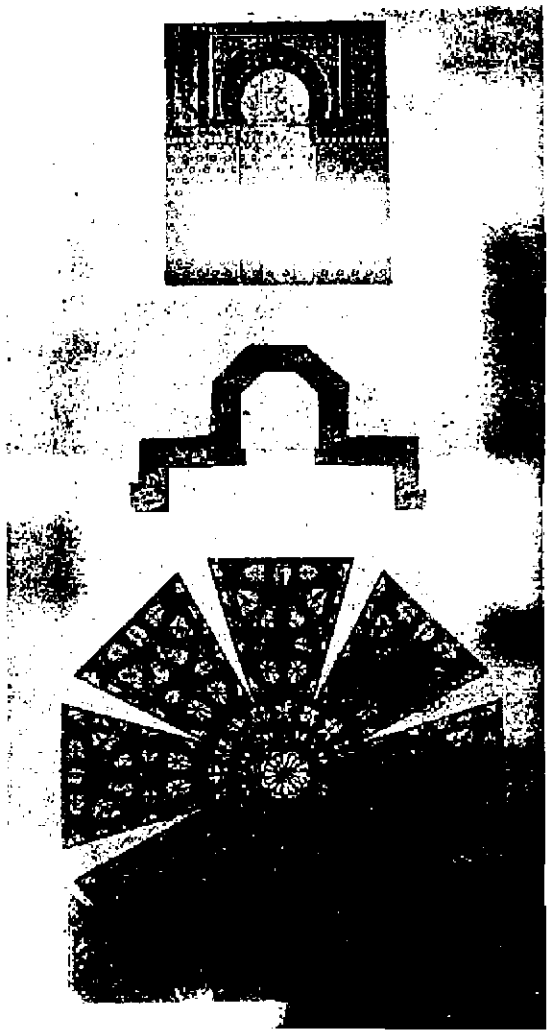


Figure 34. Drawings accompanying Plate I, Vol. I reproduced in *Revue Generale*



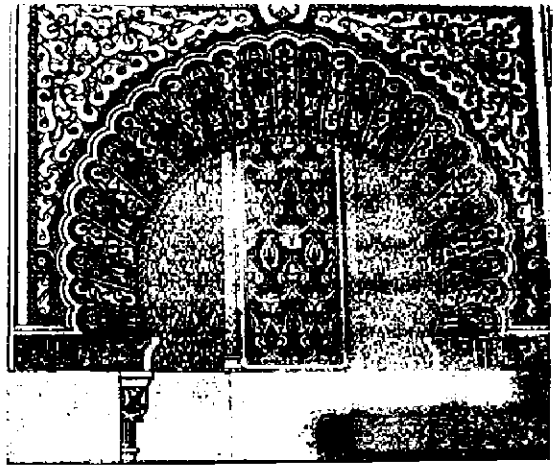
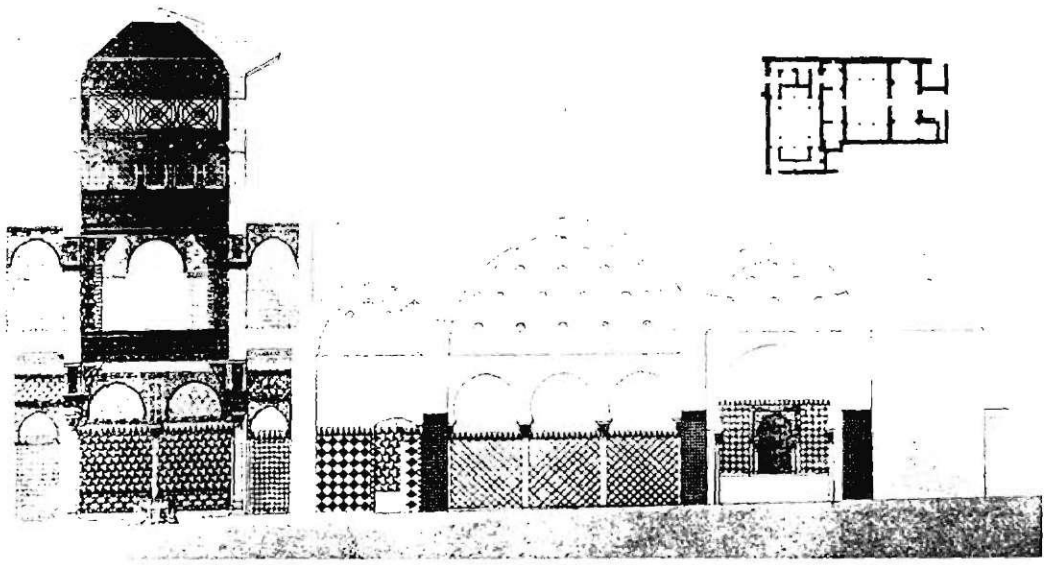


Figure 35. Elements from Plate XXV, Vol. I, illustrating a *mihrab*



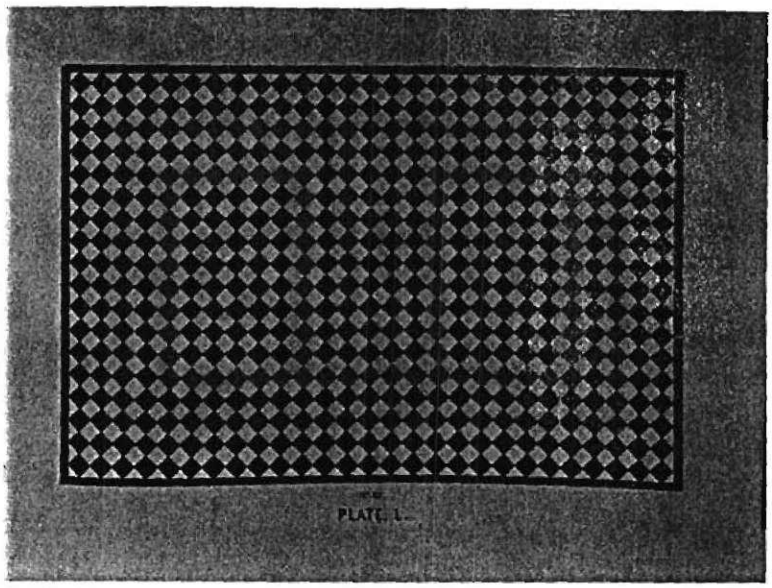
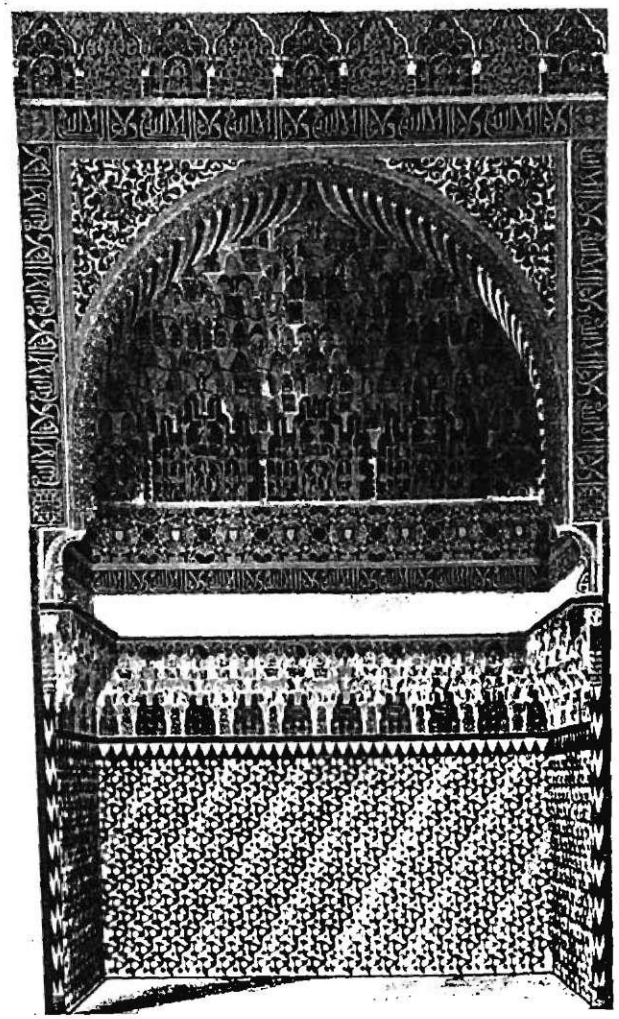


Figure 36. TOP Plate XXVI, Vol. I, Section, Baths
Figure 37. BOTTOM Plate L, Vol. II, Detail, Mosaics in the Baths



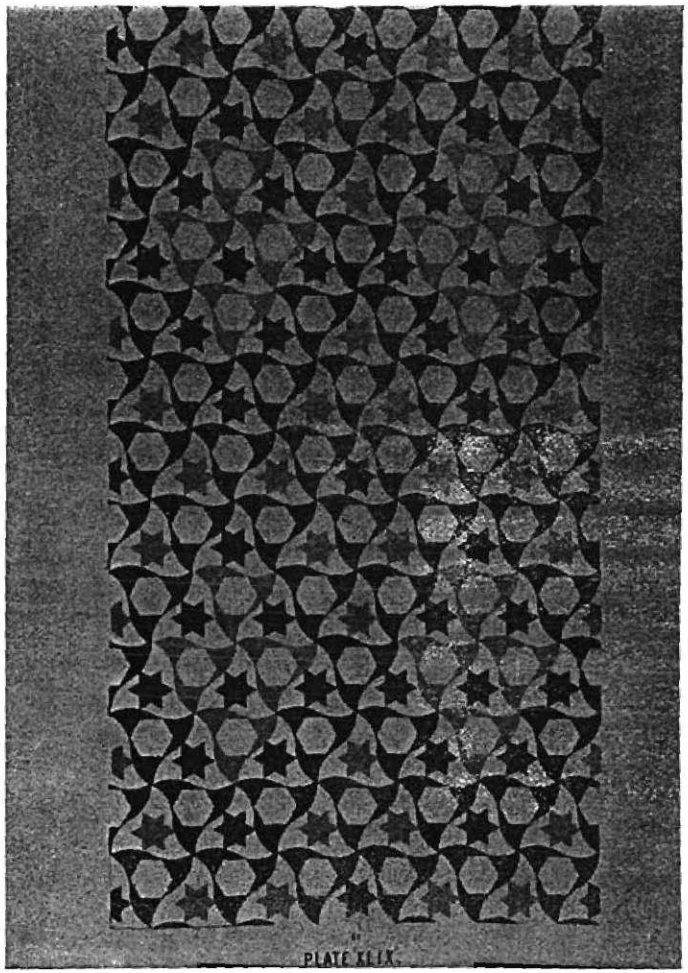
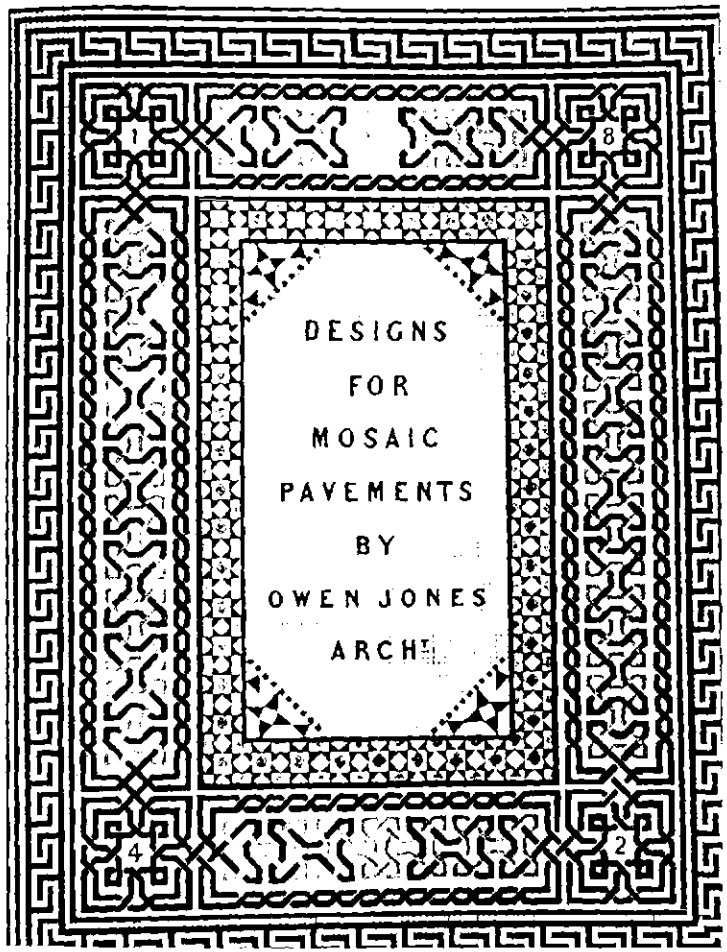


Figure 38. LEFT Divan, Court of Fish Pond showing mosaic dado pattern
Figure 39 RIGHT Plate XLIX, Vol. II, Mosaic in the Divan, Court of Fish Pond



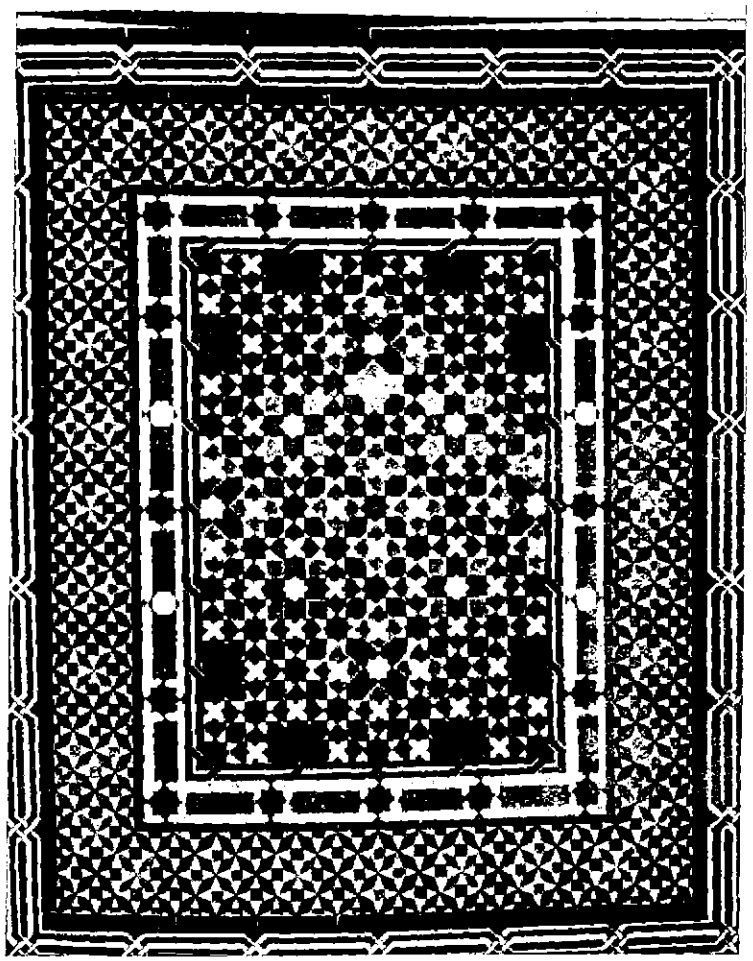


Figure 40A. LEFT Cover, *Designs for Mosaic Pavements* by Owen Jones, Architect
Figure 40B. RIGHT Design from *Designs for Mosaic Pavements*

abian to the Greek fret. The ornaments on Plate XXXIX. are constructed on two general nciples: Nos. 1-12, 16-18, are constructed on one principle (Diagram No. 1), No. 14 on the other iagram No. 2). In the first series the lines are equidistant, diagonally crossed by horizontal and

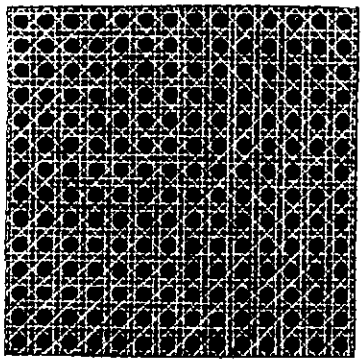


Diagram No. 1.

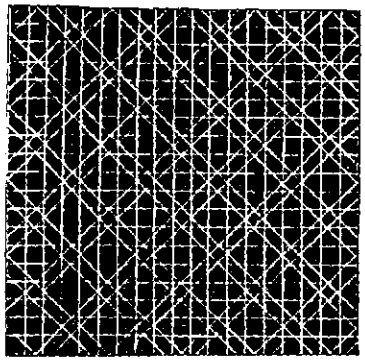
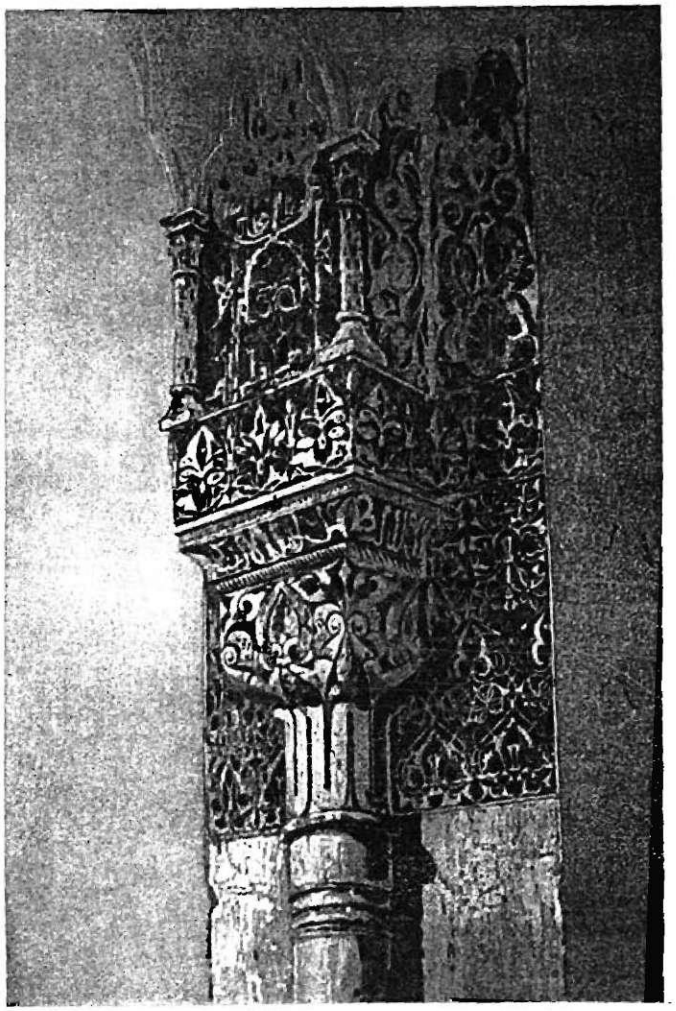


Diagram No. 2.

·pendicular lines on each square. But by the system on which No. 14 is constructed, the perpendicular l horizontal lines are equidistant, and the diagonal lines cross only each alternate square. The mber of patterns that can be produced by these two systems would appear to be infinite; and it

Figure 41. Grid patterns shown in Diagram No. 1 (Left) and No. 2 (Right)



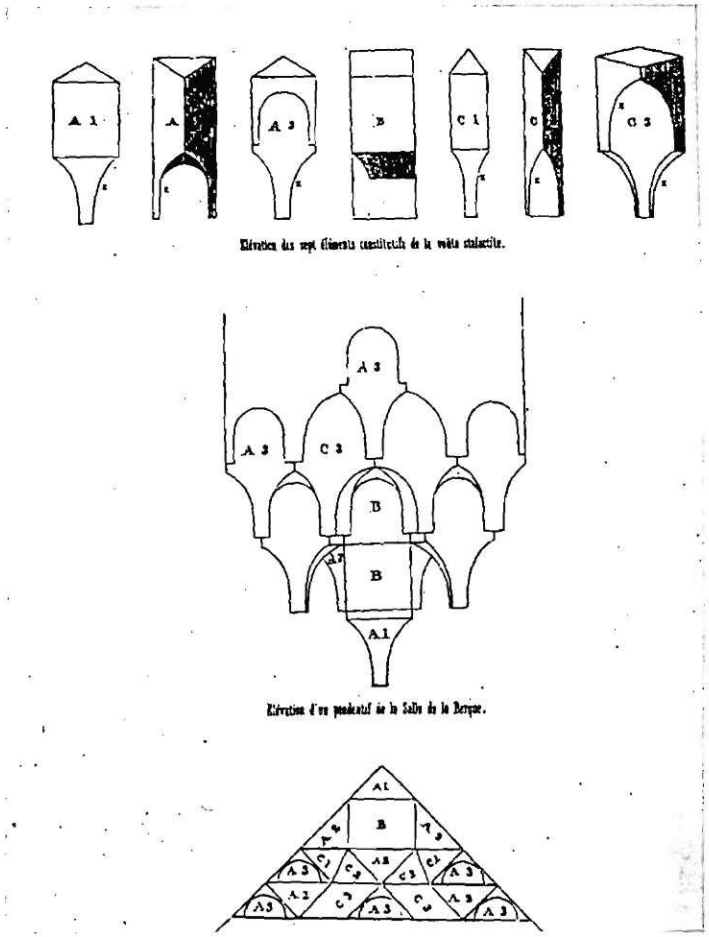
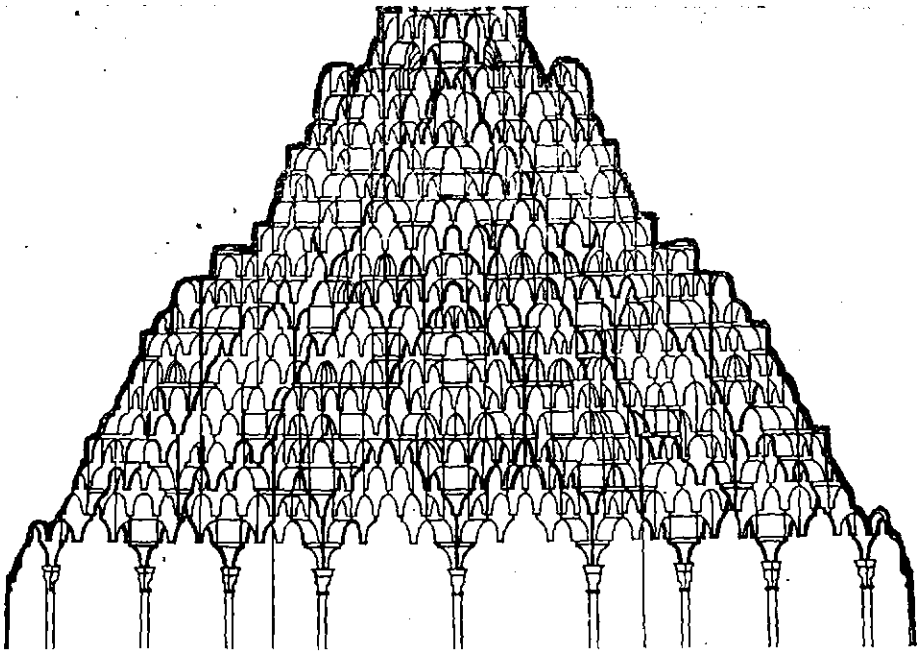


Figure 42. LEFT Plate XXXVIII, Vol. I, Actual State of Colors
Figure 43. RIGHT Elements of a stalactite dome or *muqarna* reprinted in *Revue Generale*



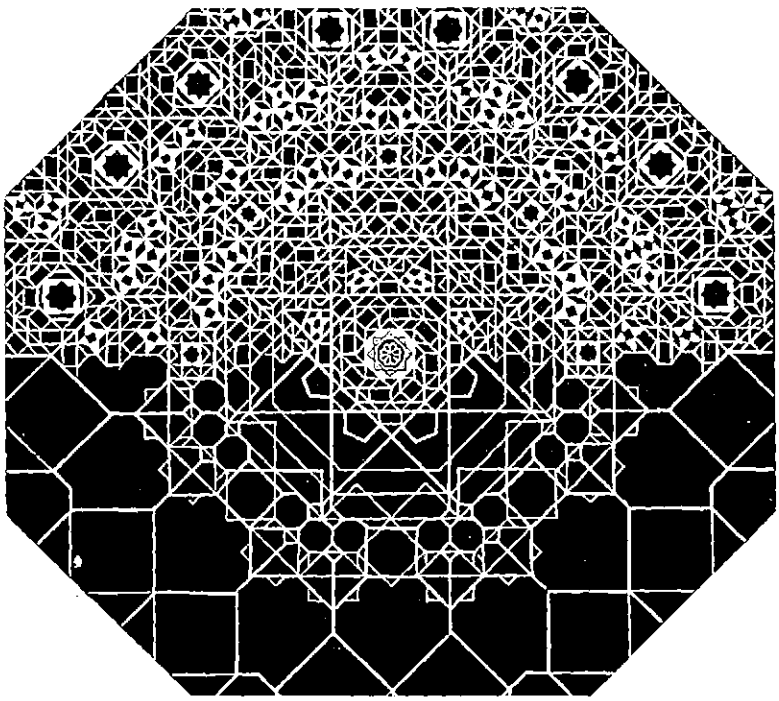


Figure 44. TOP Elevation, *muqarna* reprinted in *Revue Generale*
Figure 45. BOTTOM Plan, *muqarna* reprinted in *Revue Generale*

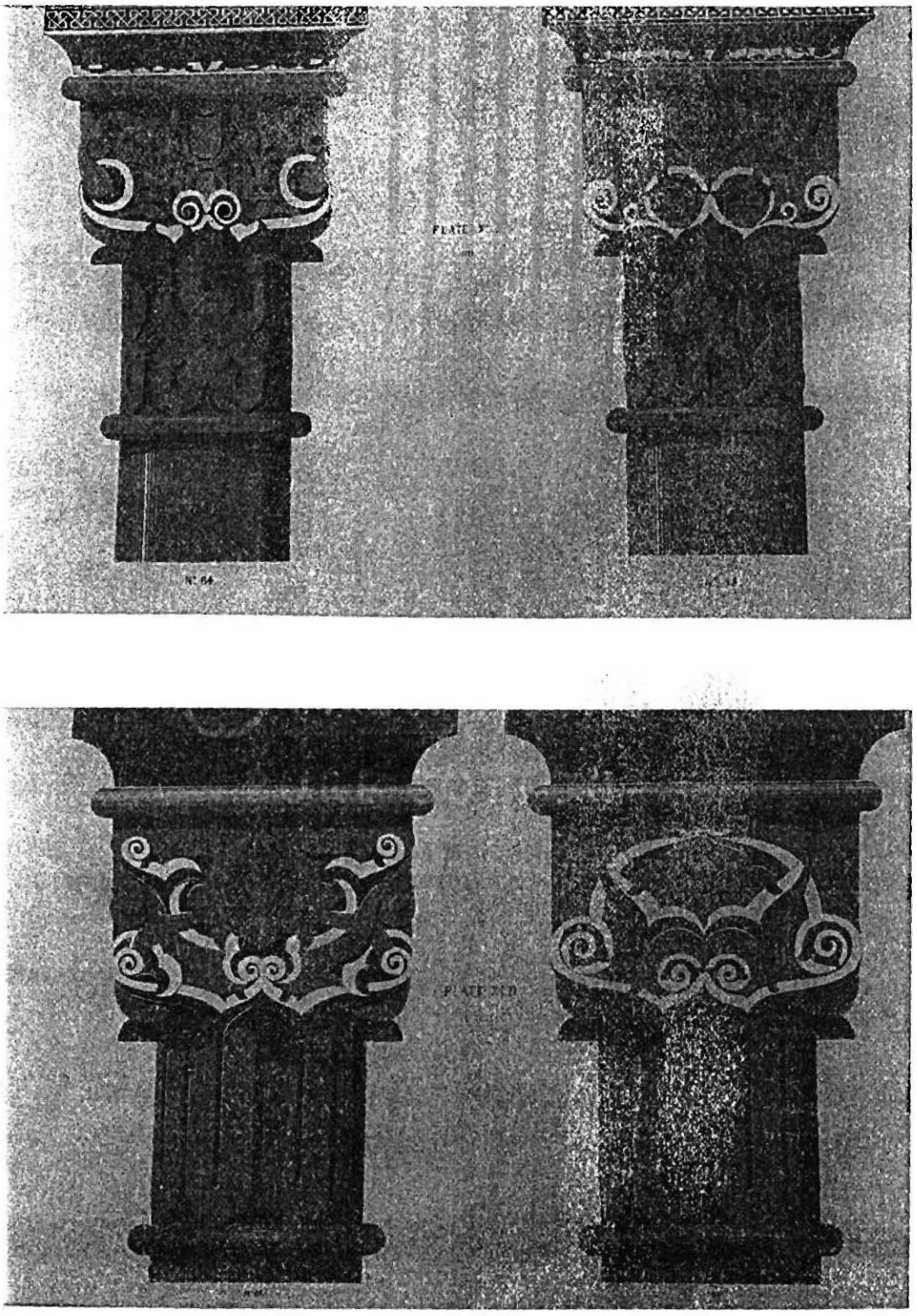
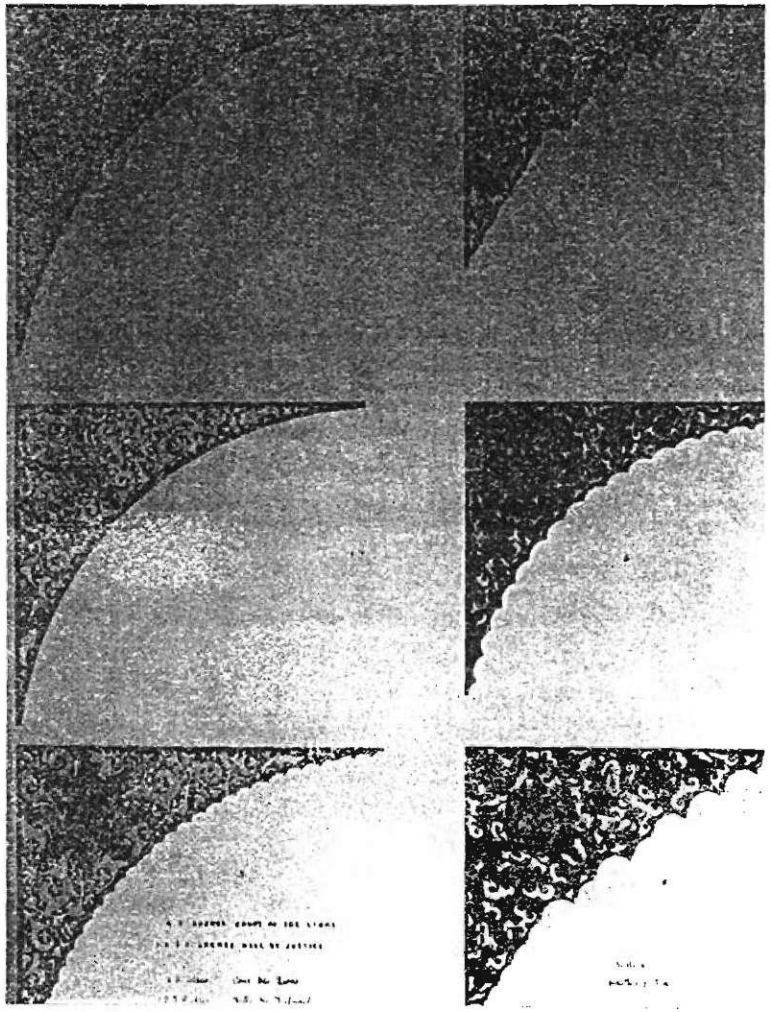


Figure 46. Capitals



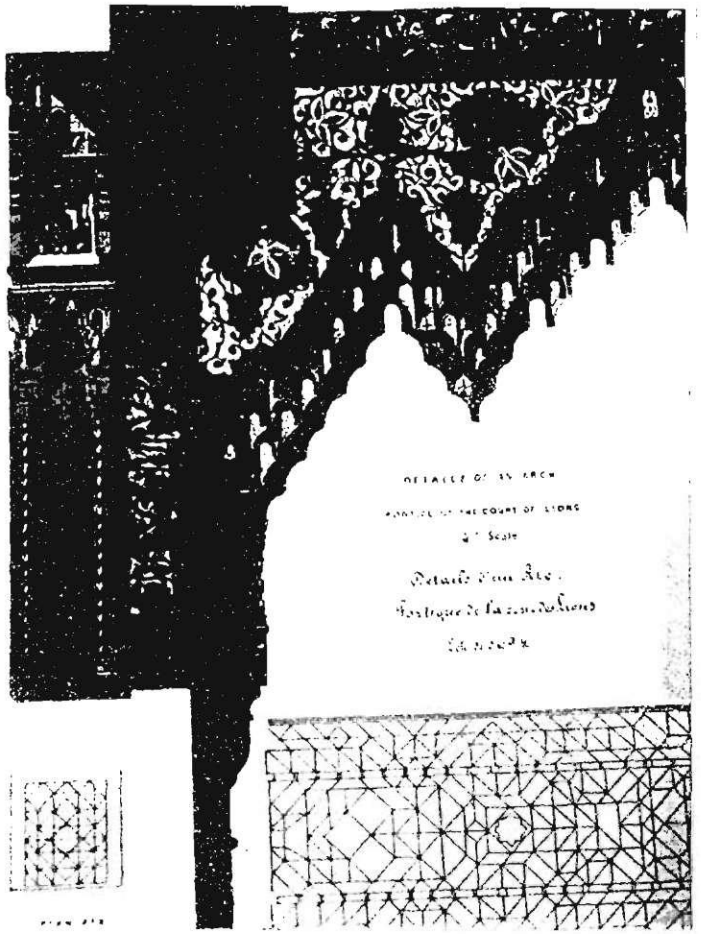


Figure 47. LEFT Spandril comparison
Figure 48. RIGHT Plate XXVIII, Vol. I, Details of an arch. Court of the Lions

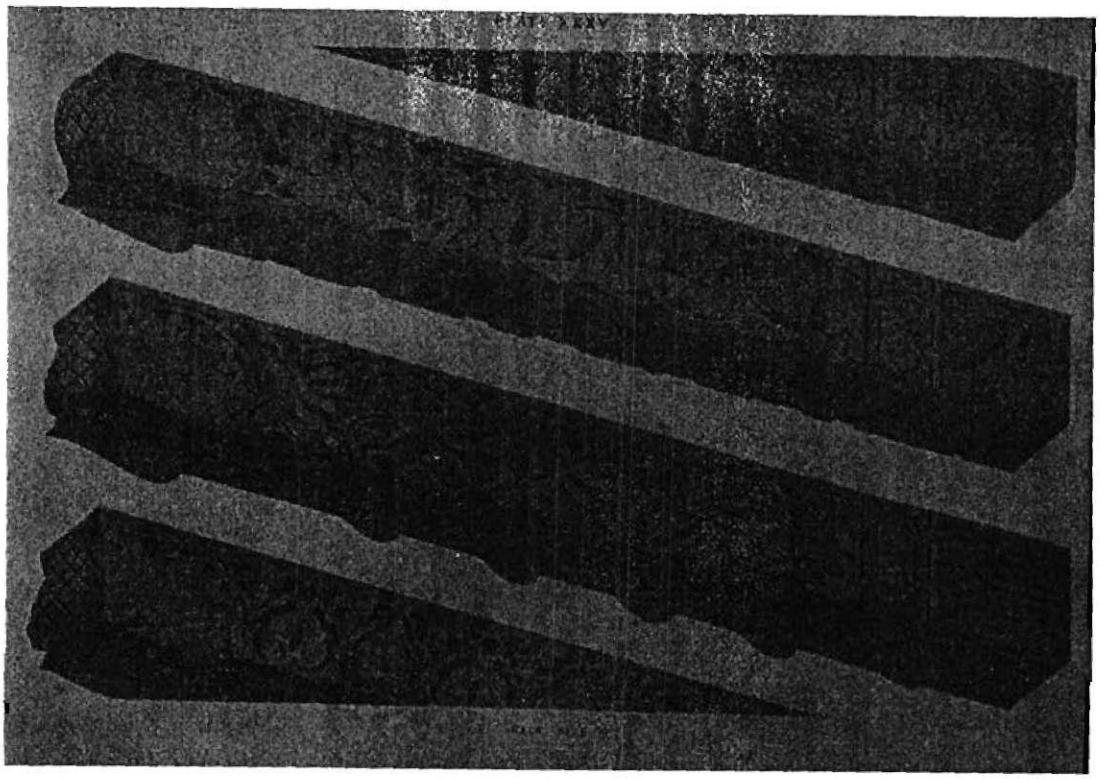


Figure 49. Plate XXXV, Vol. II, Examples of rafters over doorways [lintels].

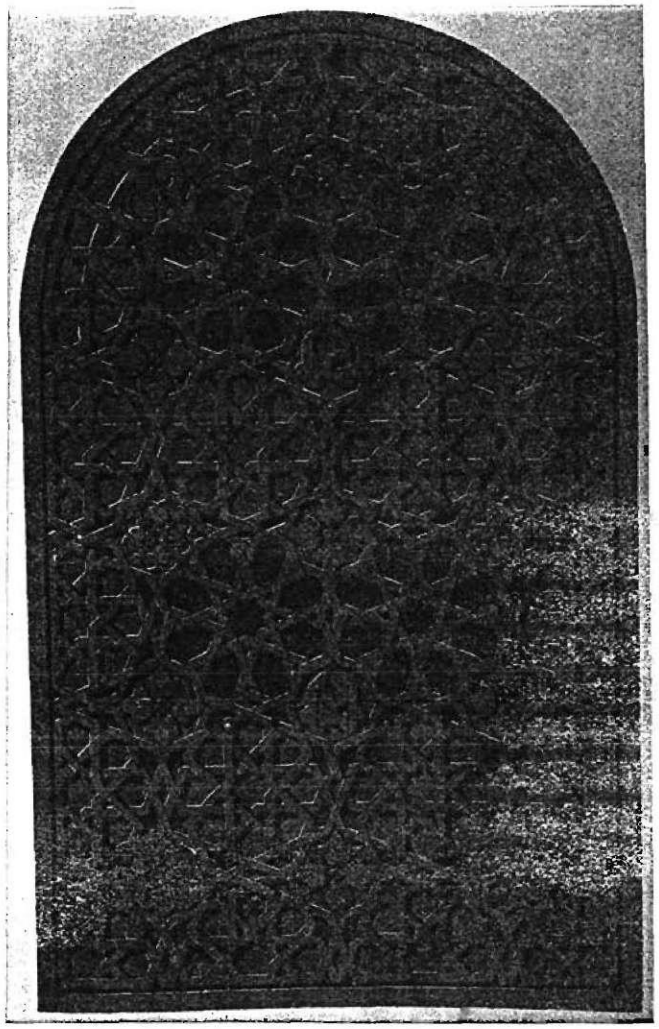


Figure 50. LEFT Plate XLIV , Vol. II, Blank Windows. Hall of the Bark
Figure 51. RIGHT Plate XLV, Vol. II, Blank Windows. Hall of the Bark

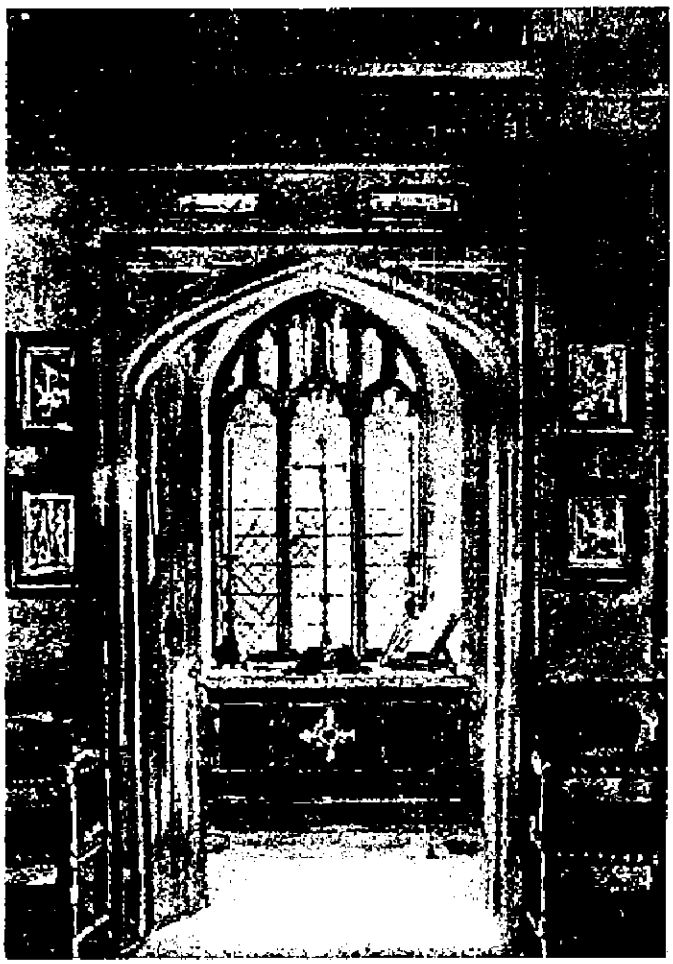


Figure 52. St. Marie's Grange, A. W. N. Pugin (1835-1836)

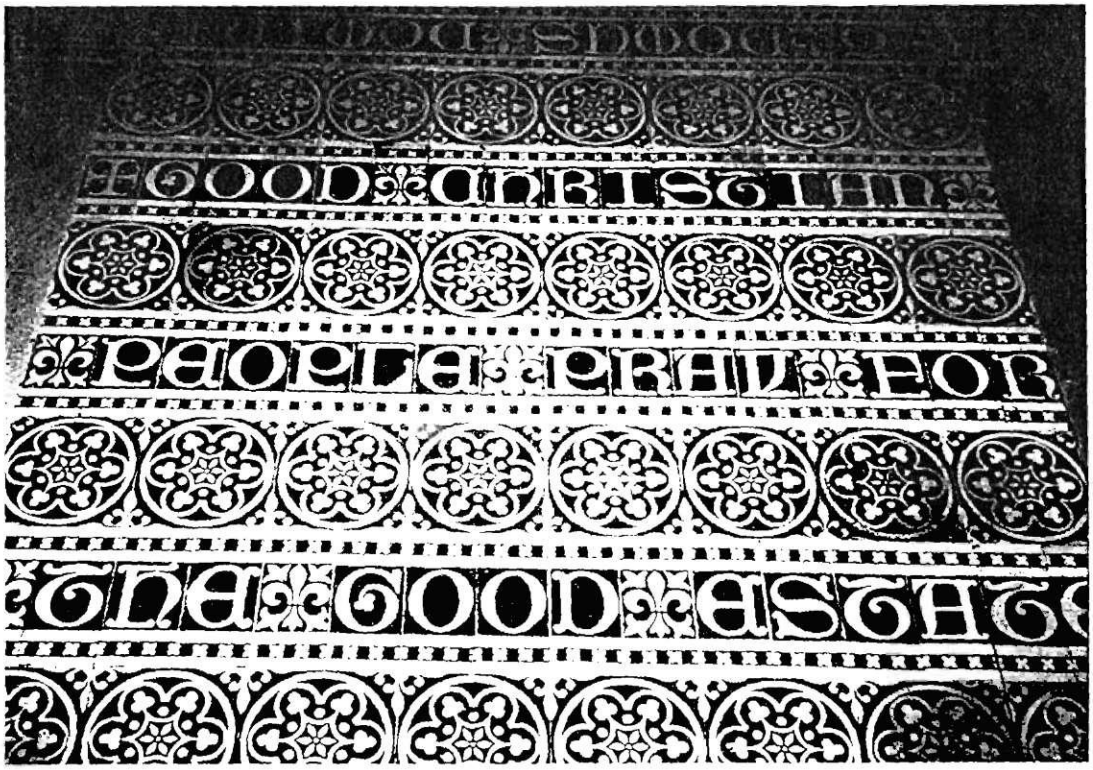
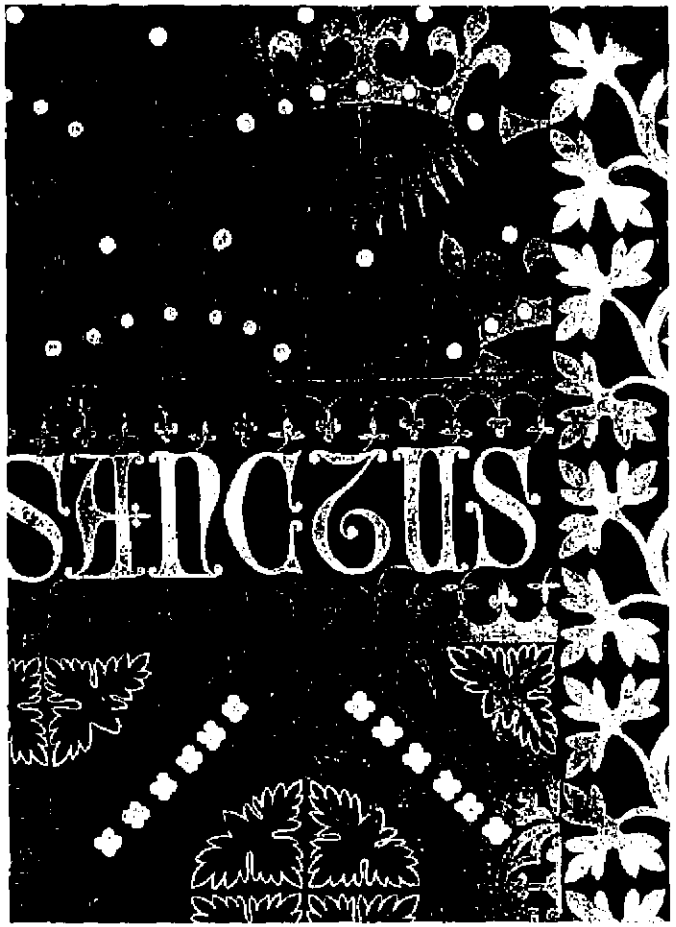


Figure 53. Floor tiles, St. Gile's Cheadle, A.W.N. Pugin (1841-1846)



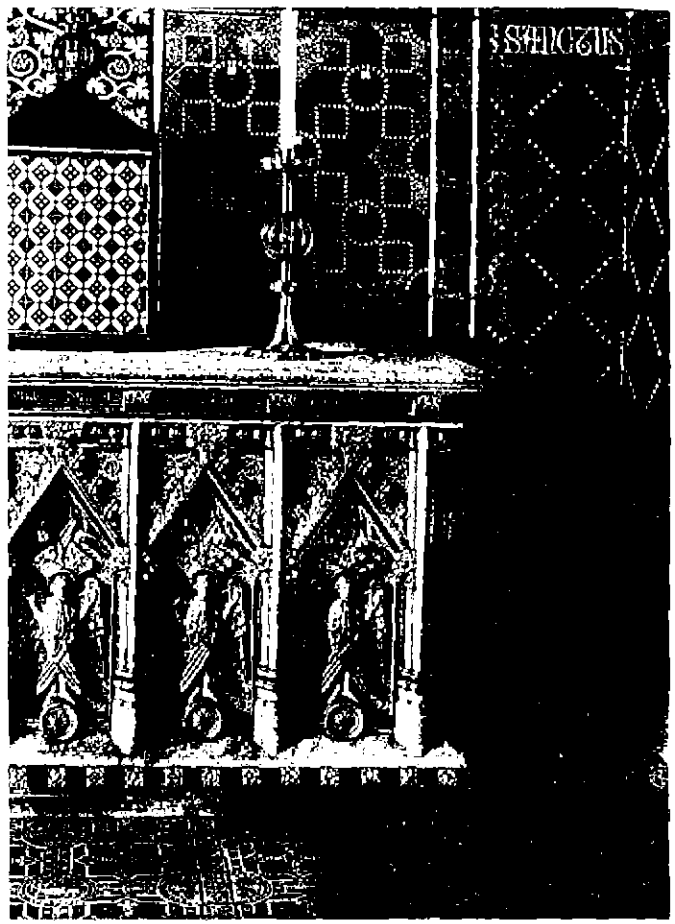


Figure 54. LEFT Detail, Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, St. Gile's Cheadle
Figure 55. RIGHT Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, St. Gile's Cheadle

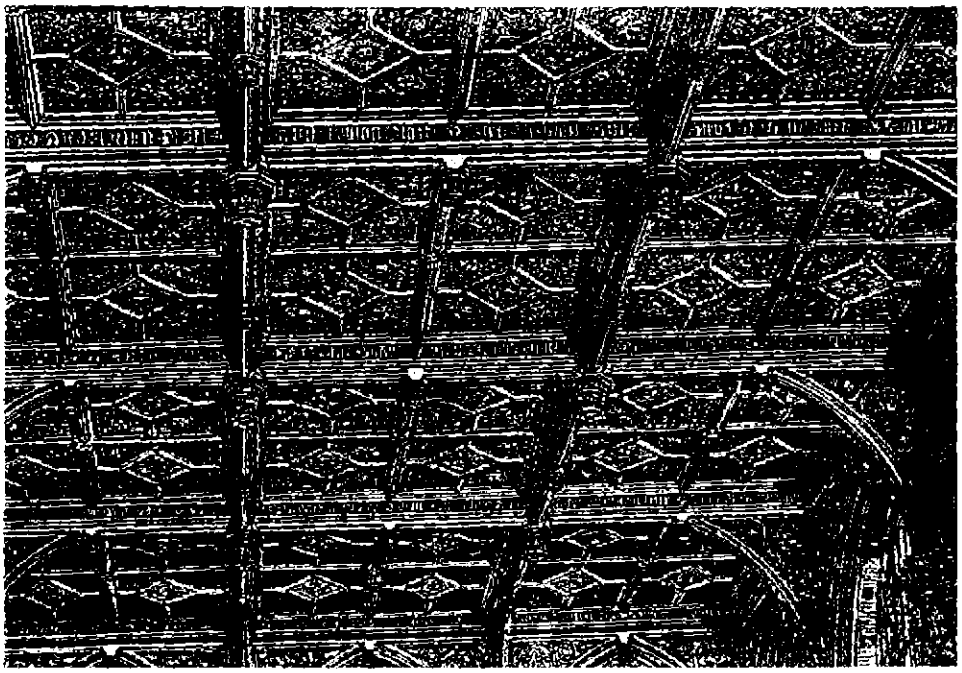
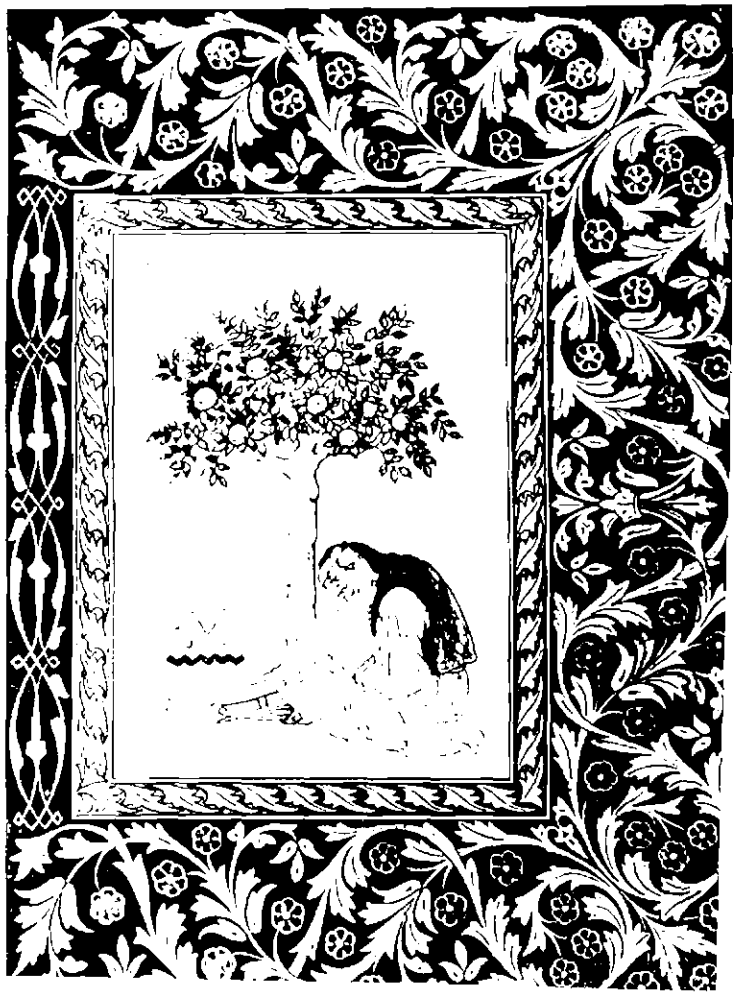


Figure 56. Ceiling, House of Lords, Palace of Westminster



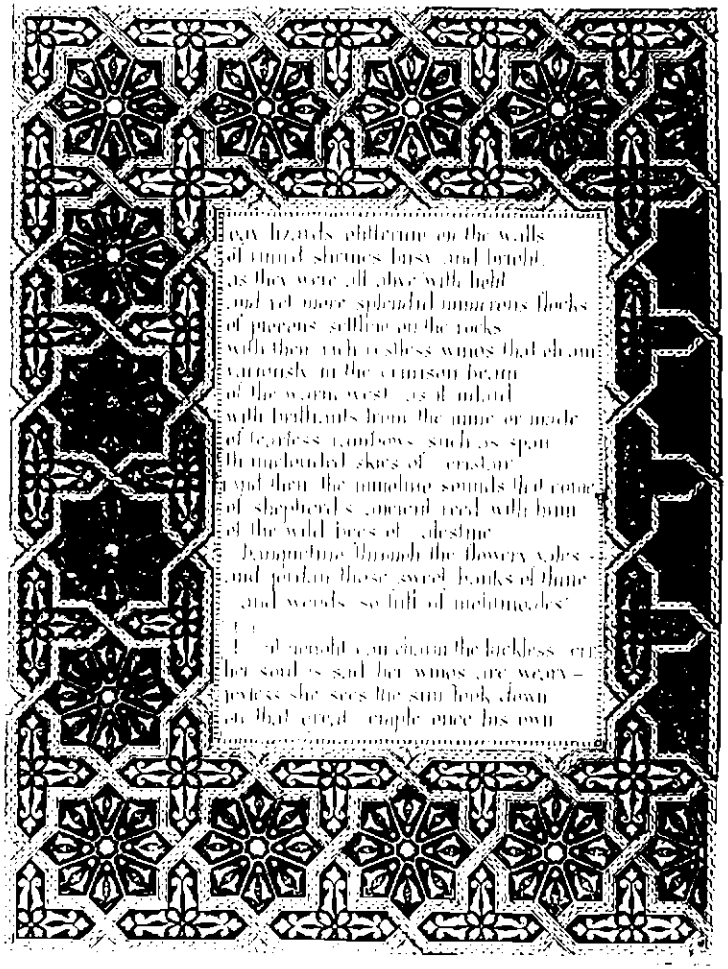


Figure 57. LEFT Page, *Paradise and the Peri.*
Figure 58. RIGHT Page, *Paradise and the Peri.*

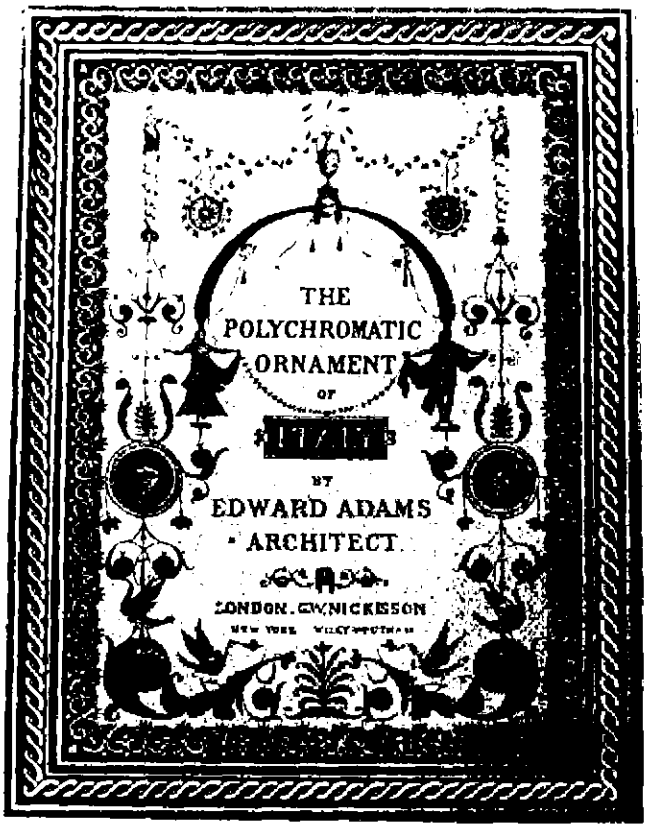
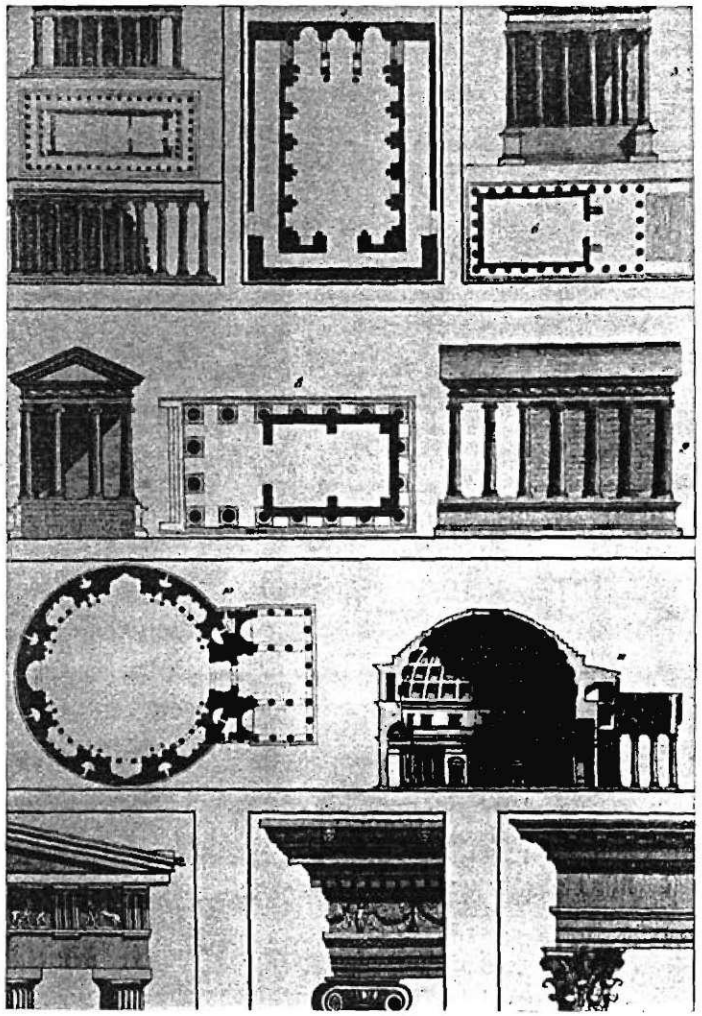


Figure 59. Cover, *The Polychromatic Ornament of Italy*



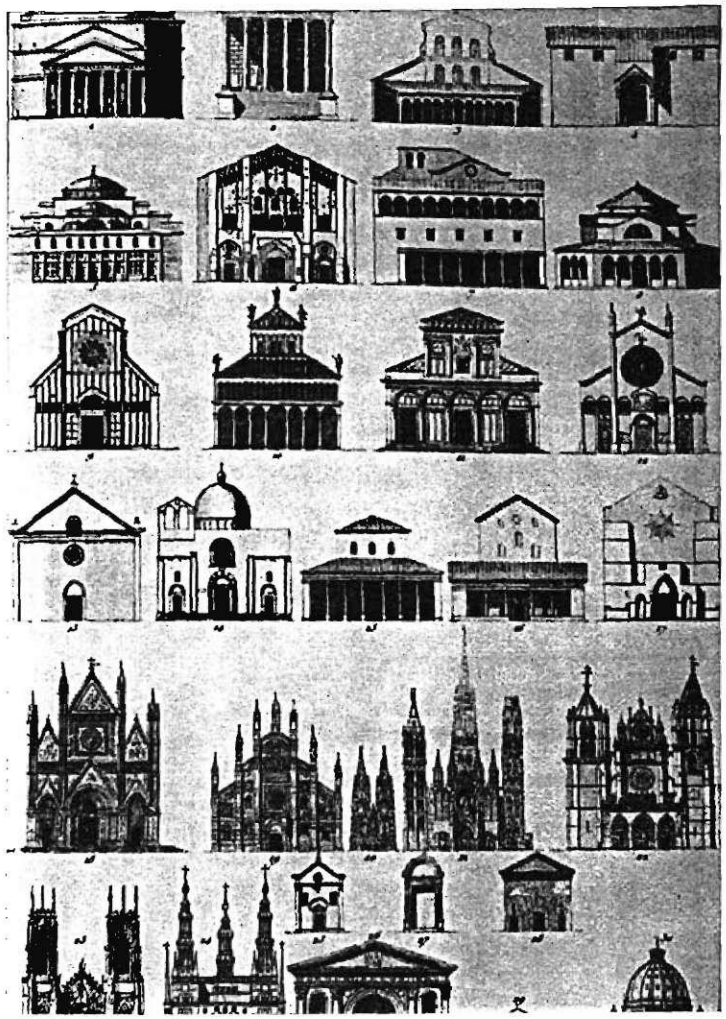
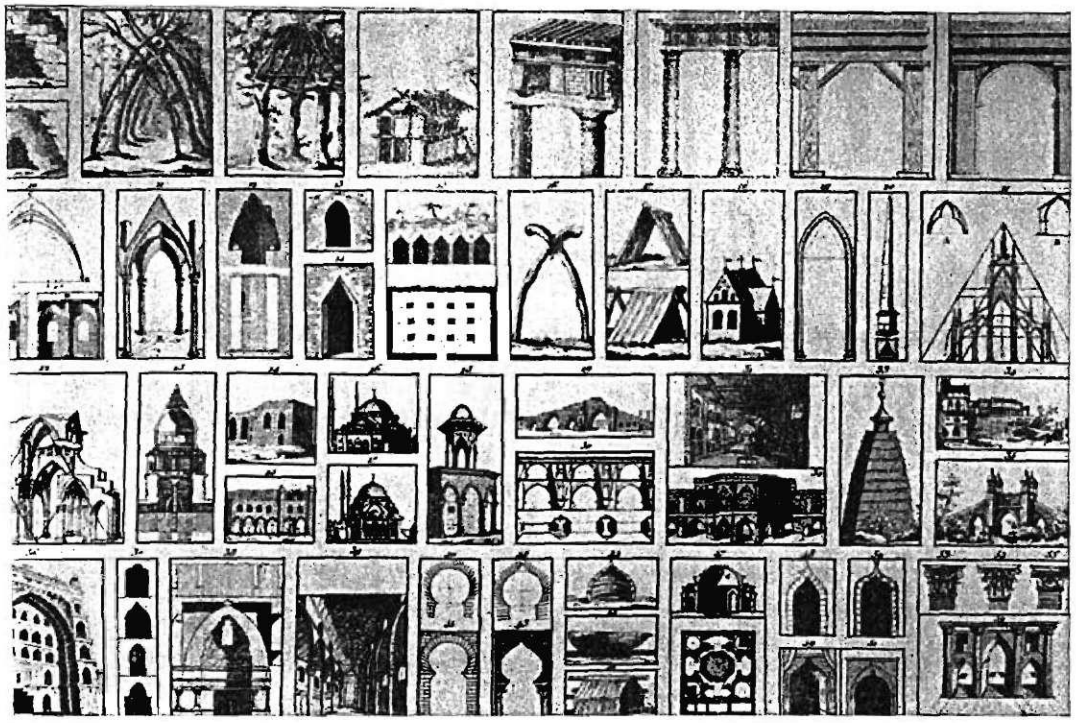


Figure 60. LEFT "Antique Architecture in Its State of Perfection Among the Greeks and the Romans", Seroux D'Agincourt

Figure 61. BOTTOM Historical and Chronological Catalogue of the Facades of Temples before during the Decadence of Art", Seroux D'Agincourt



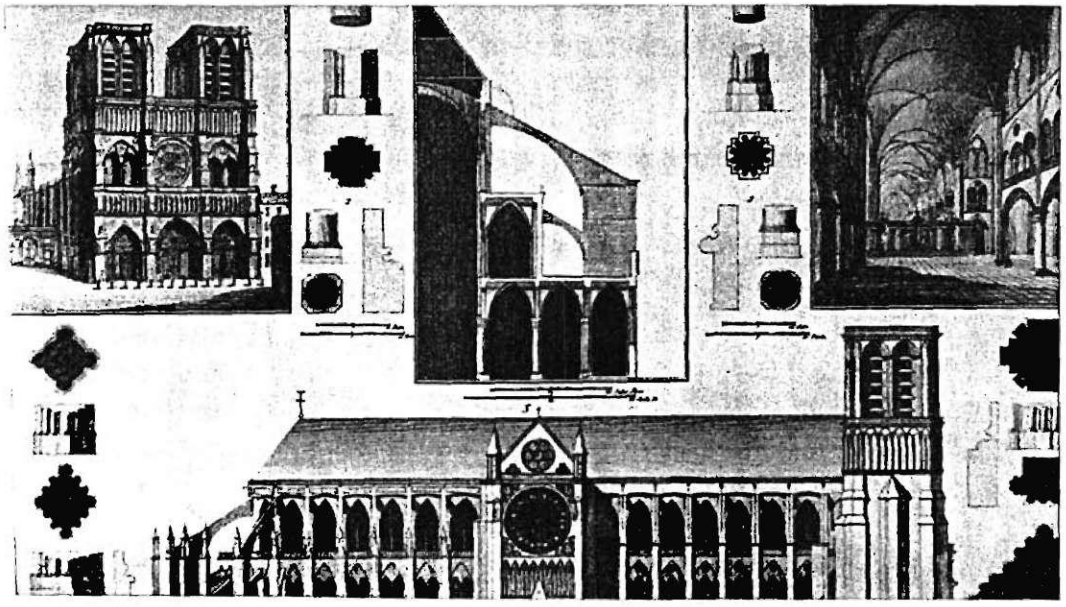


Figure 62. TOP "Conjectures on the Origin, the Various Forms, and the Use of the Gothic Arch in Well-Known Countries", Seroux D'Agincourt

Figure 63. BOTTOM Notre-Dame, Paris, Seroux D'Agincourt

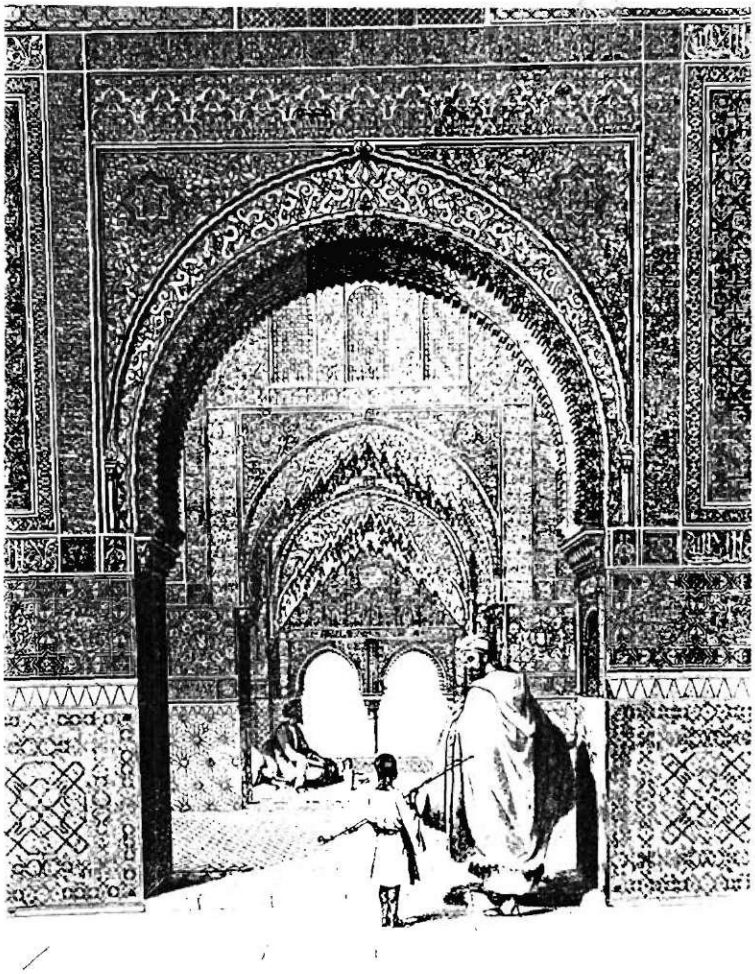
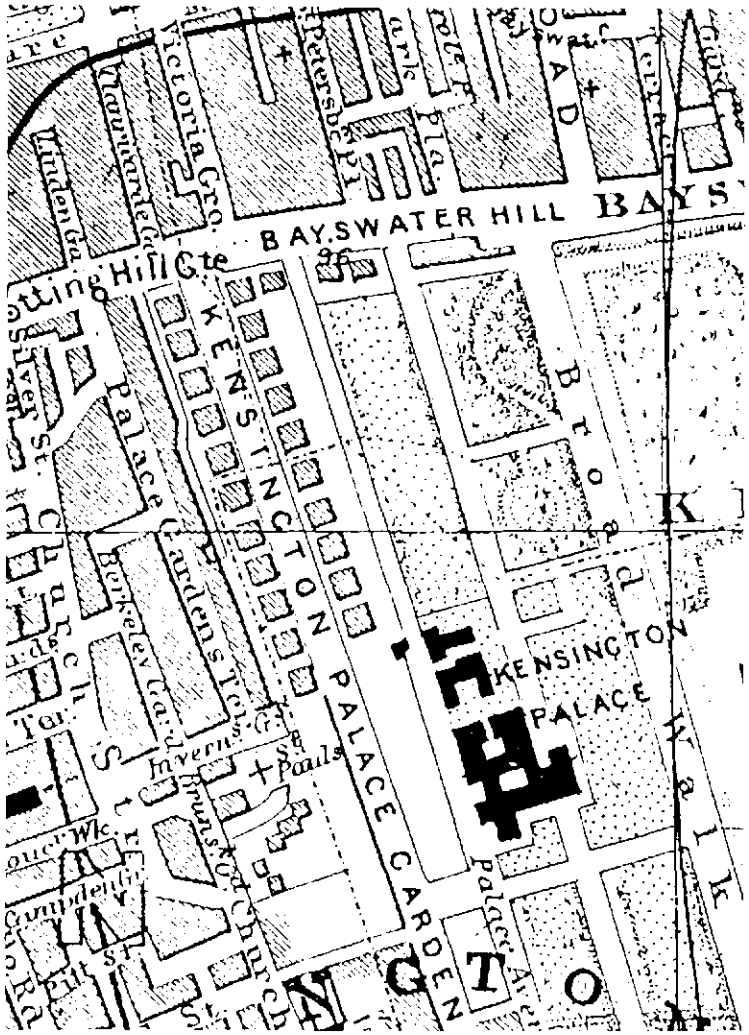


Figure 64. Plate XIX, Vol. I, View in the Hall of the Two Sisters



SUPERIOR

BUILDING GROUND,

PART OF THE SITE OF

THE LATE ROYAL KITCHEN GARDEN,

AT

KENSINGTON.

TO BE LET,

UPON BUILDING LEASES,

FOR THE ERECTION THEREON OF

FIRST-RATE SUBSTANTIAL RESIDENCES,

SEVERAL

PLOTS OF GROUND.

As shown in the annexed plan;

SITUATE

A PORTION OF THE HIGH GROUND

ADJOINING

KENSINGTON HIGH STREET

AND

THE UXBRIDGE ROAD:

HERETOFORE USED AS ONE OF THE ROYAL KITCHEN GARDENS.

Applications for a Lease of one or more of the said Plots to be made to

Mr. OWEN JONES, ARCHITECT, 9 ARGYLL PLACE, REGENT STREET;

Figure 65. LEFT Map, Kensington Palace Gardens
Figure 66. RIGHT Advertisement for Kensington Palace Gardens Development

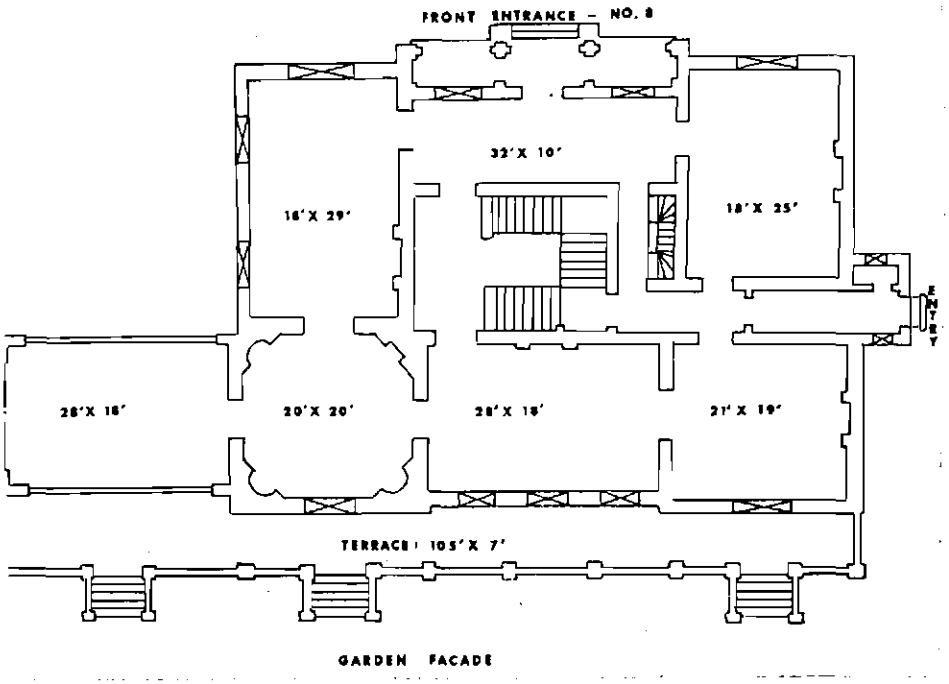


Figure 67. TOP Garden facade, Number 8, Kensington Palace Gardens
Figure 68. BOTTOM Plan, Number 8, Kensington Palace Gardens

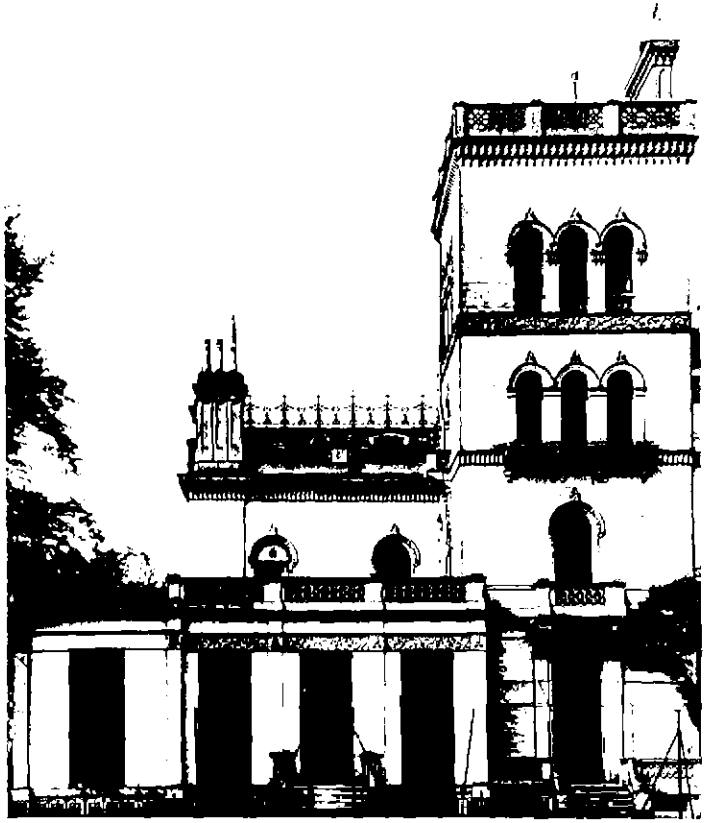


Figure 69. LEFT Garden facade, Number 8, Kensington Palace Gardens with addition
Figure 70. RIGHT Garden facade, Number 8, Kensington Palace Gardens with addition

Figure 71. TOP Front facade, Number 8, Kensington Palace Gardens
Figure 72. BOTTOM Front facade, Number 8, Kensington Palace Gardens with addition

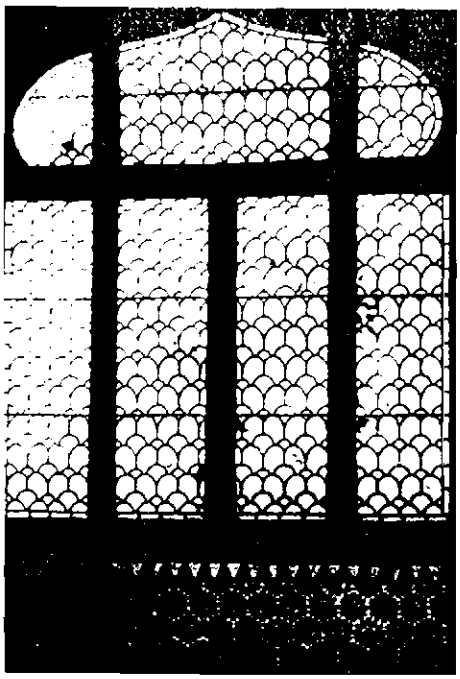
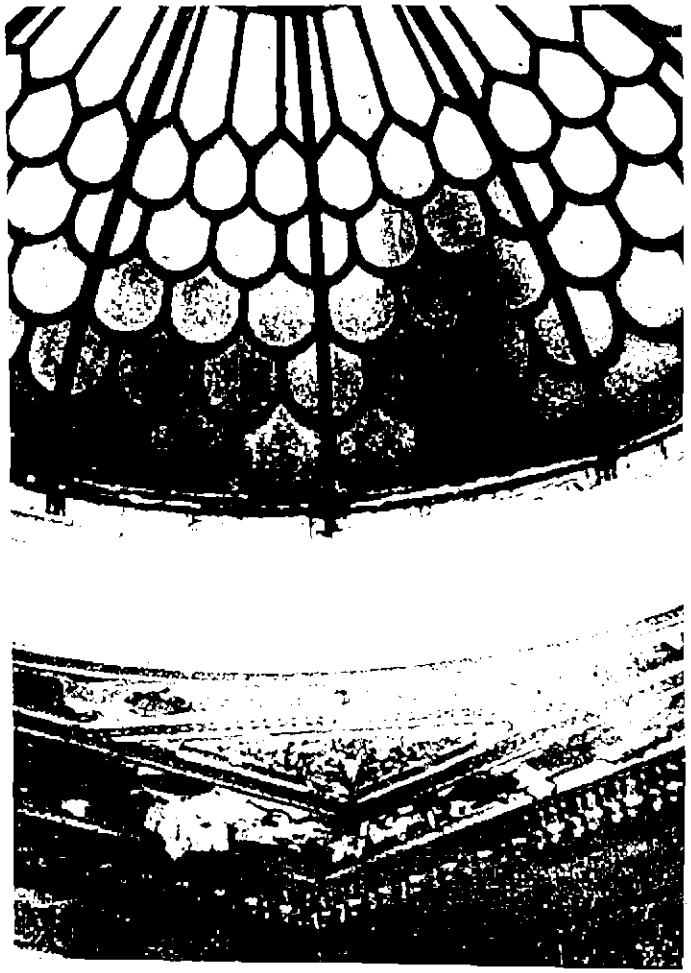


Figure 73. TOP Detail Interior, Number 8, Kensington Palace Gardens
Figure 74. BOTTOM Detail Interior, Number 8, Kensington Palace Gardens



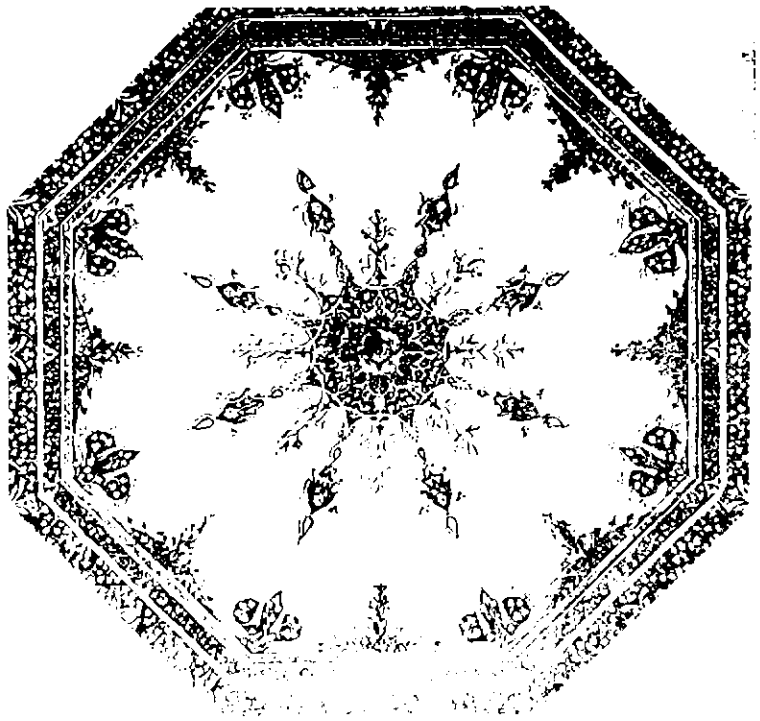


Figure 75. LEFT Interior, Skylight, Number 8, Kensington Palace Gardens
Figure 76. RIGHT Ceiling design, Number 8, Kensington Palace Gardens

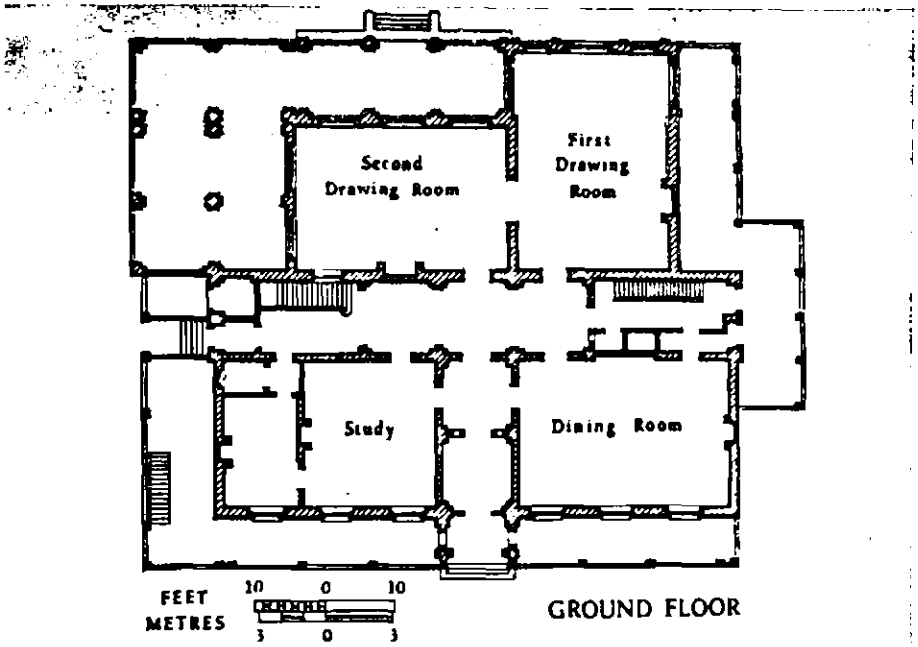


Fig. 41. No. 24 Kensington Palace Gardens, ground-floor plan in 1845

Figure 77. TOP Plan, Number 24, Kensington Palace Gardens
Figure 78. BOTTOM Front facade, Number 24, Kensington Palace Gardens

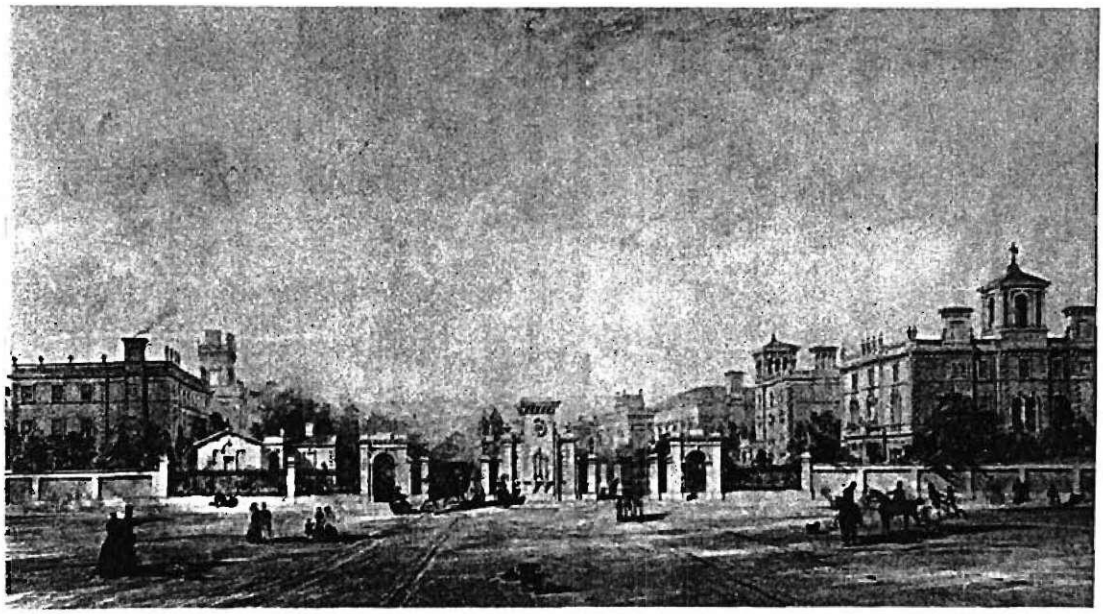
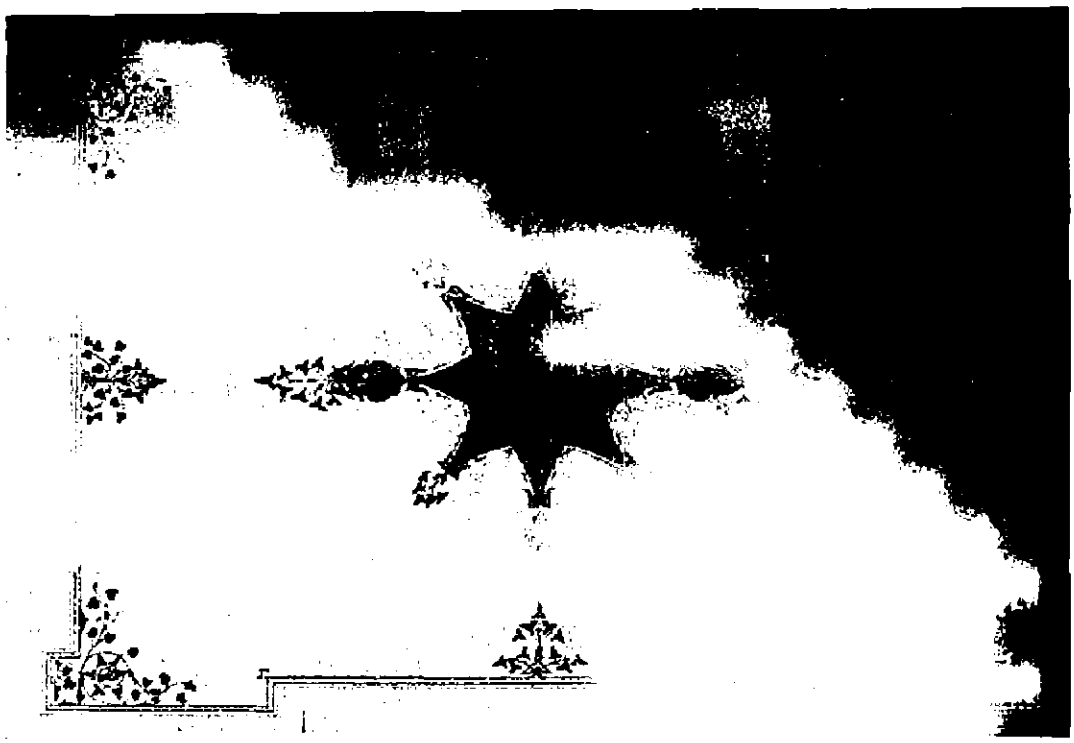


Figure 79. Entrance, Kensington Palace Gardens



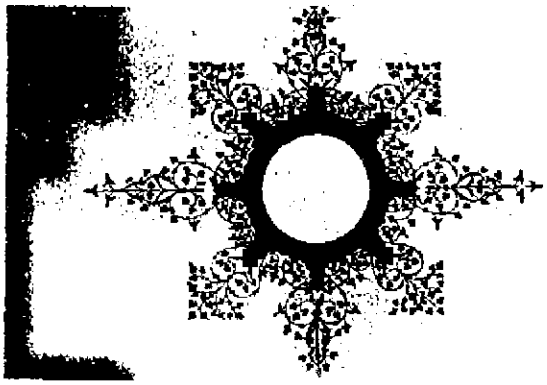


Figure 80. TOP Ceiling, 12 Westbourne Street
Figure 81. BOTTOM Another design by Jones

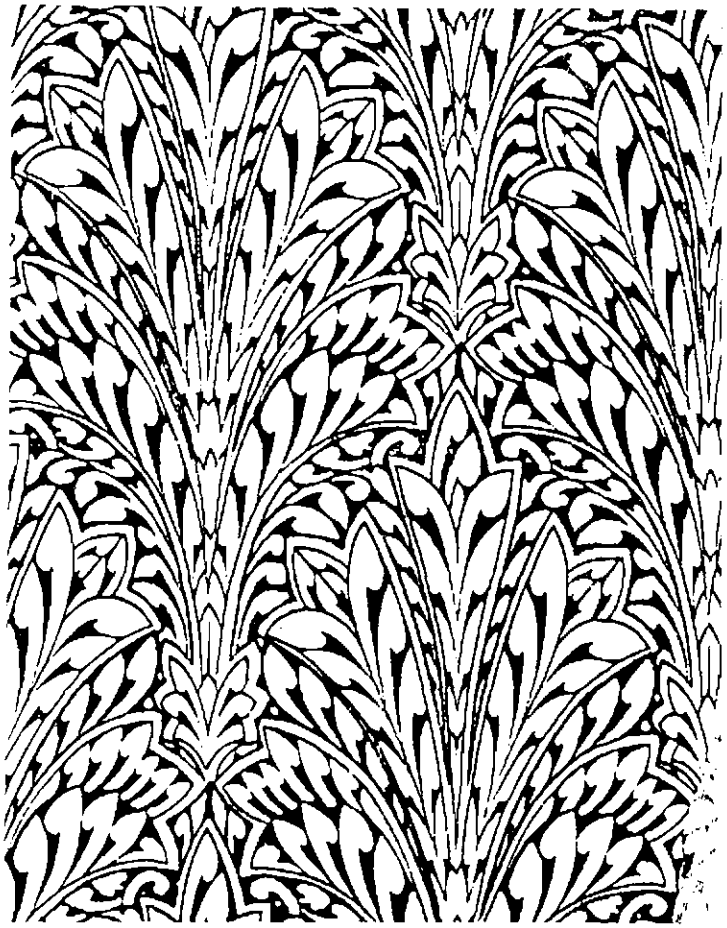
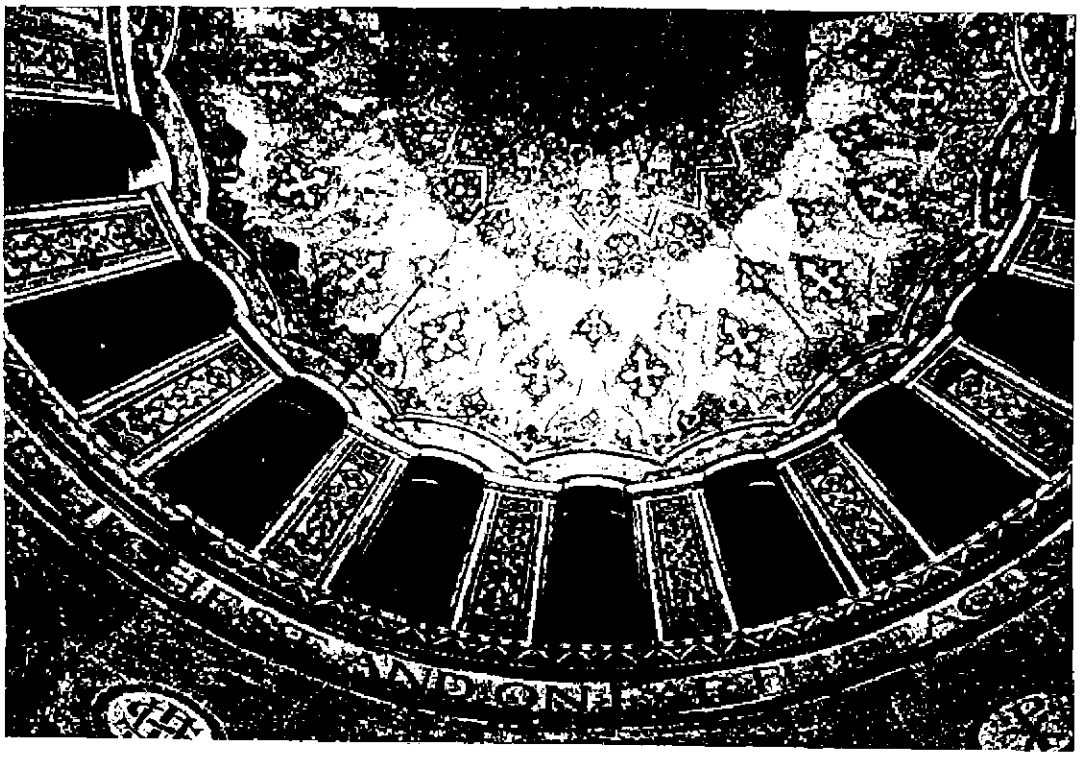


Figure 82. Chintz, December 1851 issues of *Journal of Design and Manufactures*



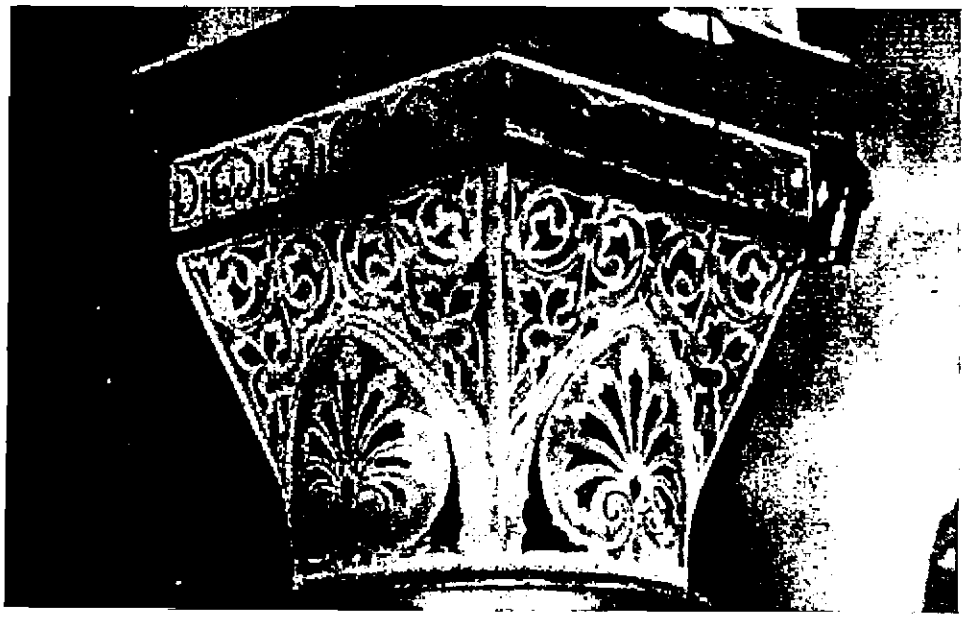


Figure 83. TOP Apse, Christ Church, Streatham
Figure 84. BOTTOM Capital, Christ Church, Streatham

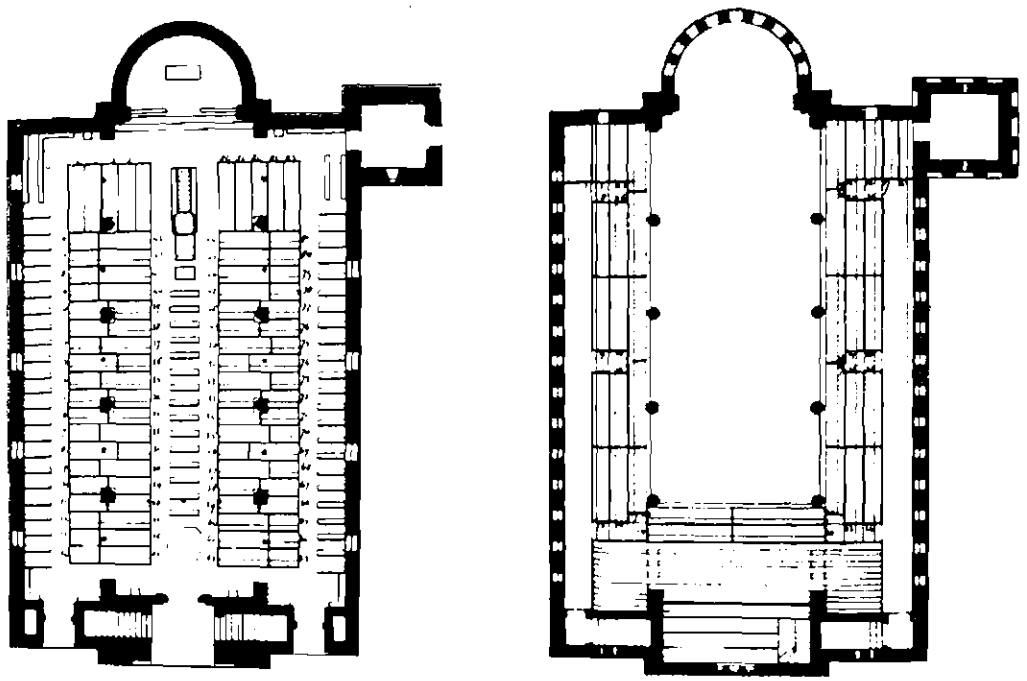


Figure 85. TOP Exterior, Christ Church, Streatham
Figure 86. BOTTOM Plan, Christ Church, Streatham

Figure 87. LEFT Interior, Christ Church, Streatham
Figure 88. RIGHT Drawing, Christ Church, Streatham after Jones's initial work completed

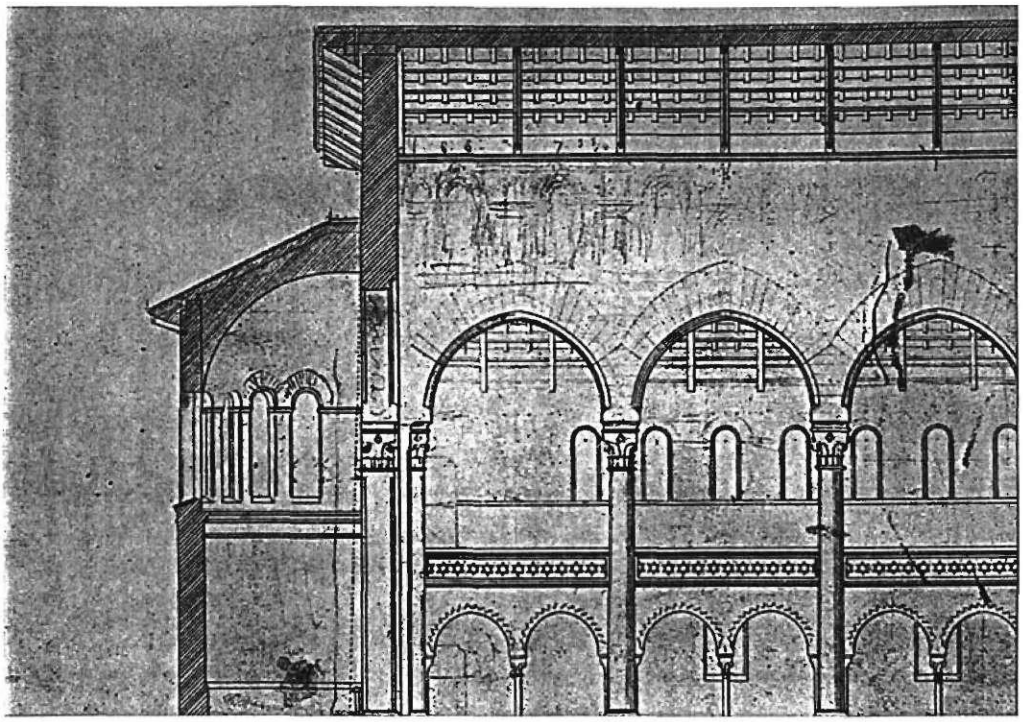


Figure 89. Interior, Christ Church, Streatham, Drawing by Wild

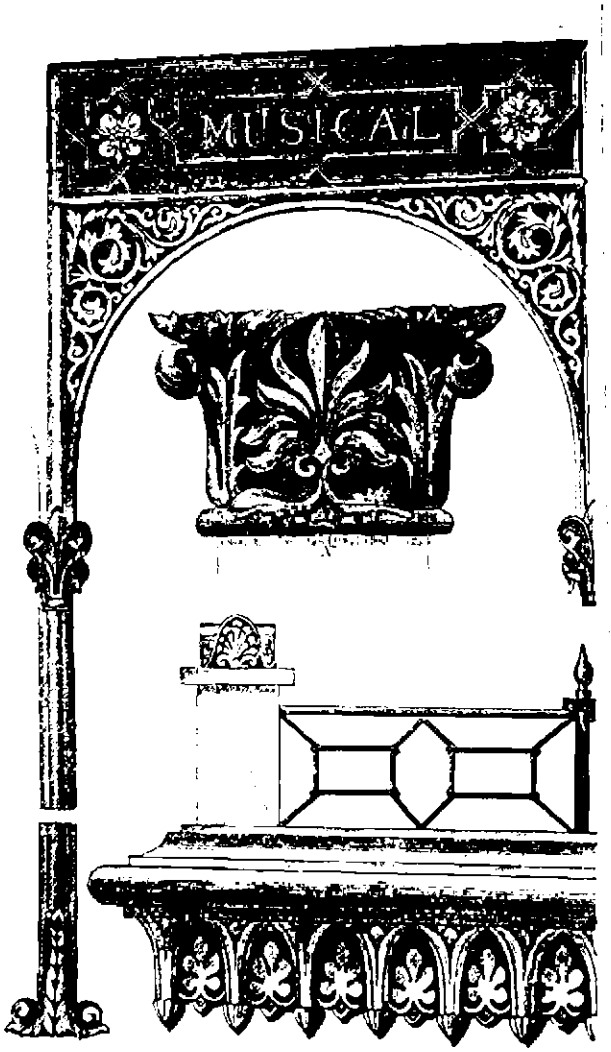
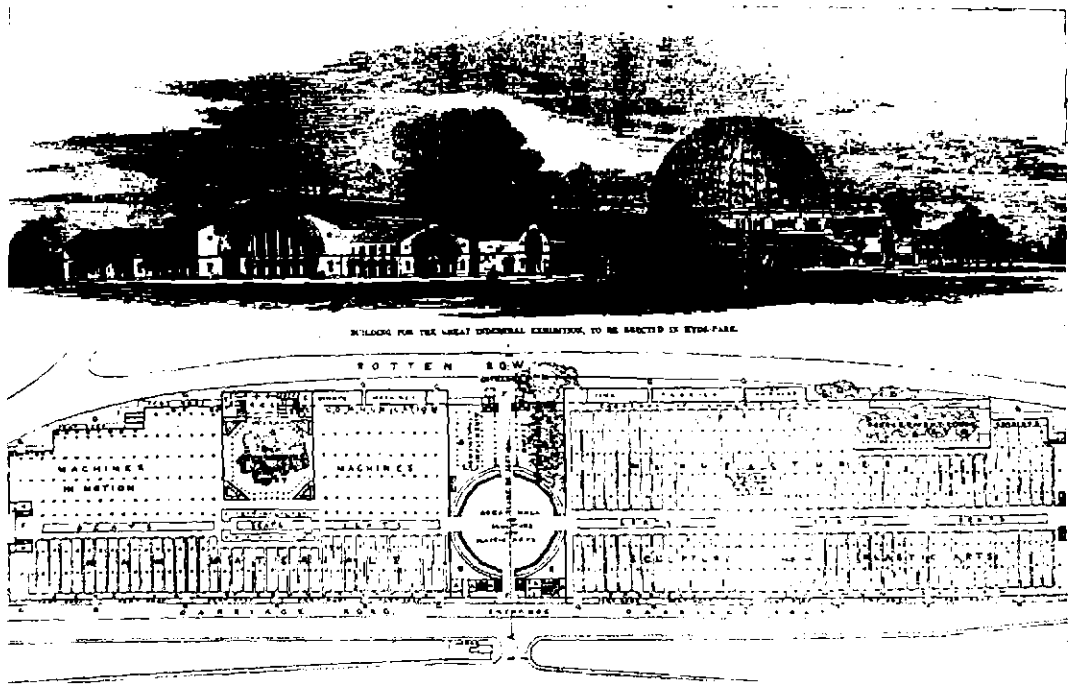


Figure 90. Elements from Chappell's Shop Front, by Jones



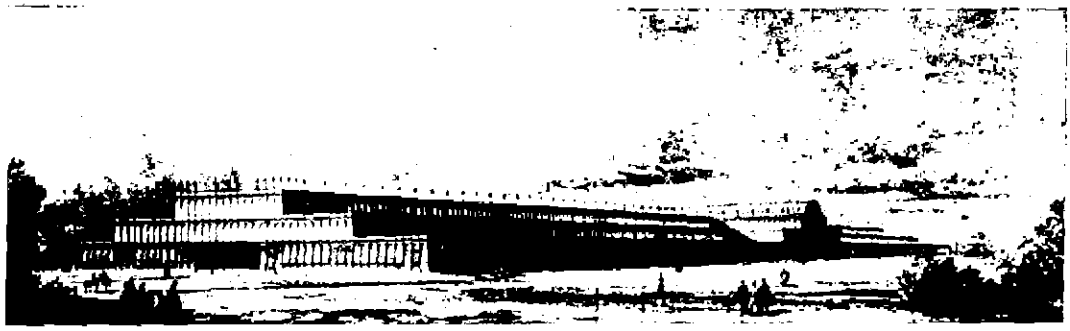
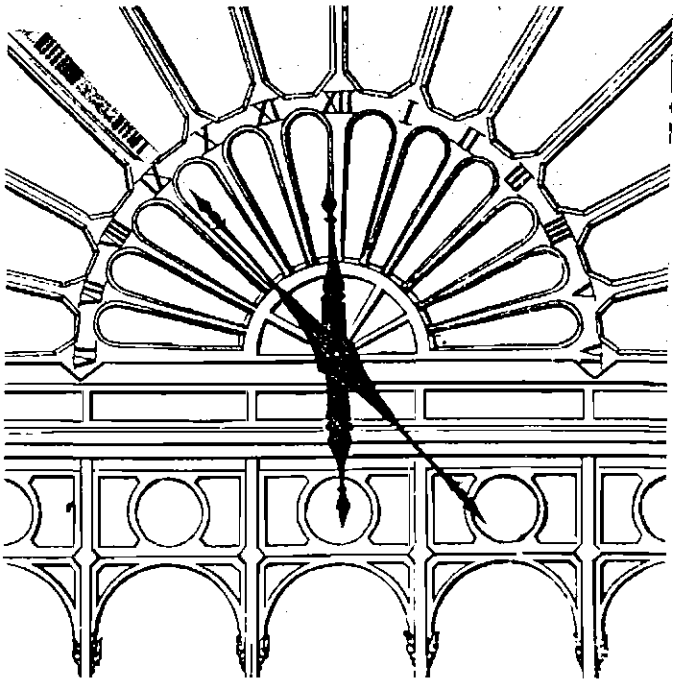


Figure 91. TOP Plan and elevation, Building Committee's scheme
Figure 92. BOTTOM View, Crystal Palace by Jones



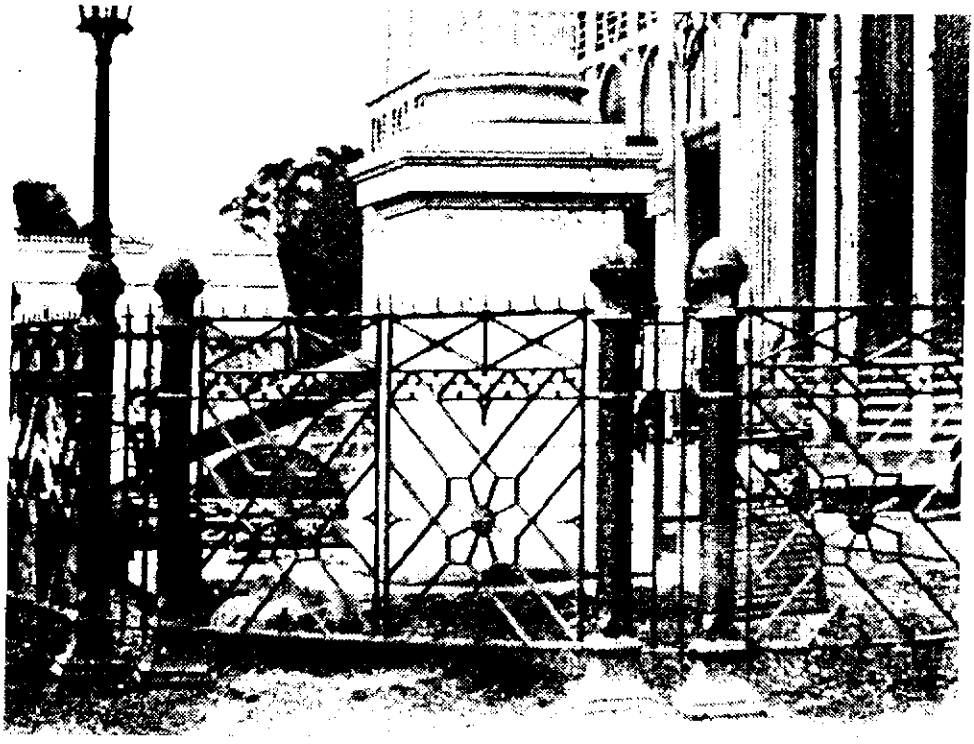


Figure 93. TOP Detail, clock designed by Jones
Figure 94. BOTTOM Railing designed by Jones

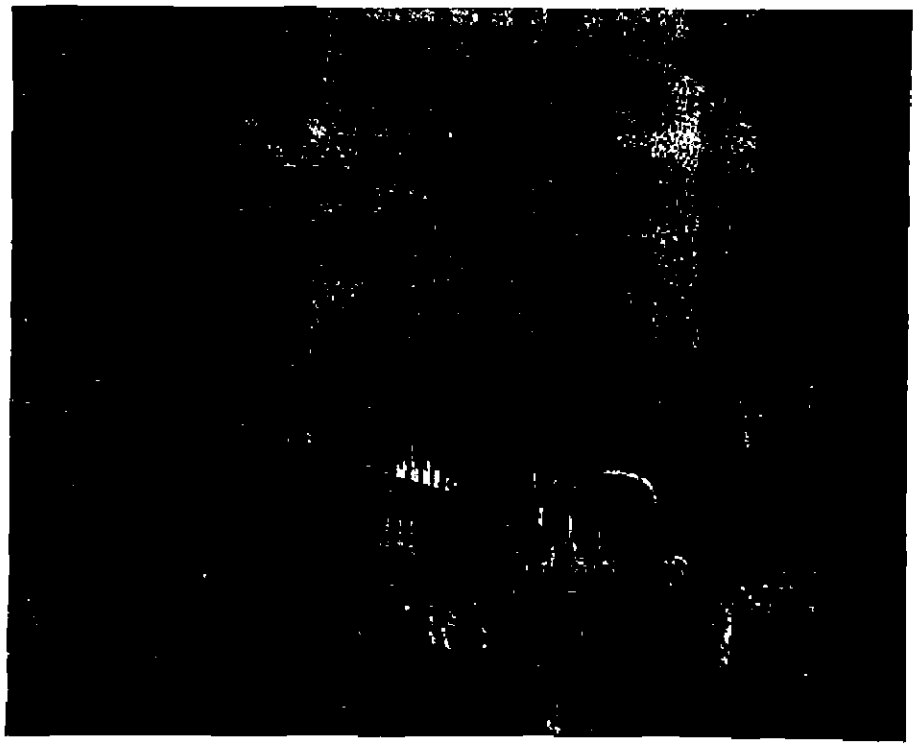
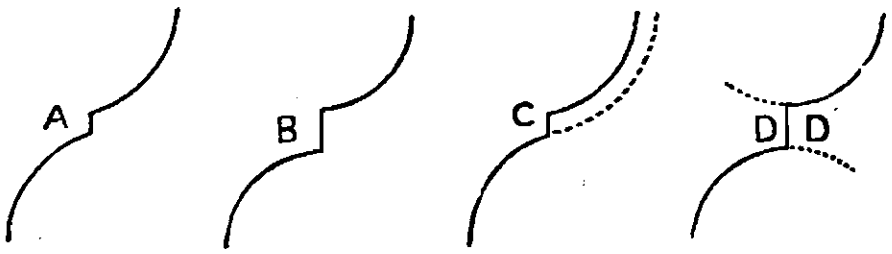


Figure 95. TOP Interior scheme by Jones
Figure 96. BOTTOM May 1, 1851, Opening of the Great Exhibition [Jones in circle]

lines from straight, must be gradual.
: at A were too deep in proportion to



wn the curve, would run outwards, and

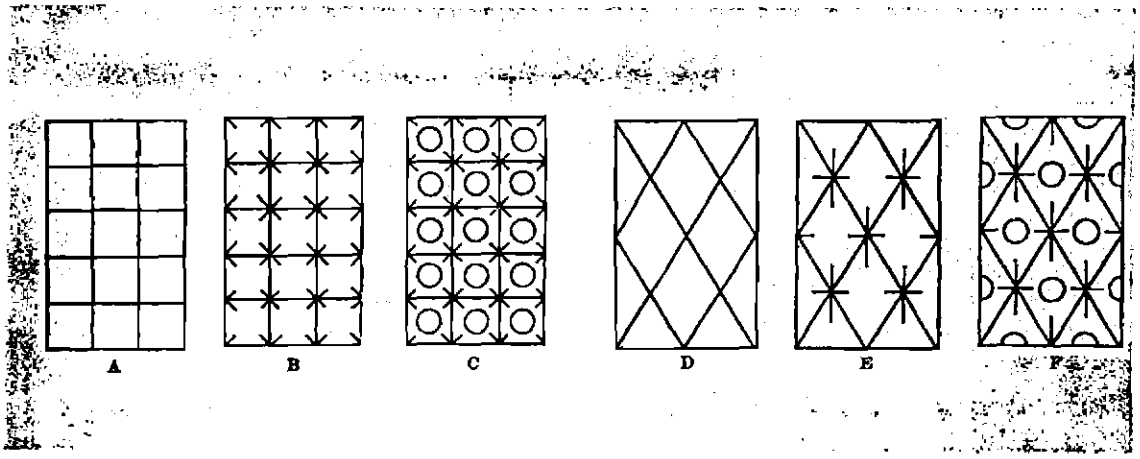


Figure 97. TOP Comparison of curved lines
Figure 98. BOTTOM Examples of pattern development

Figure 99. Designs by Jones

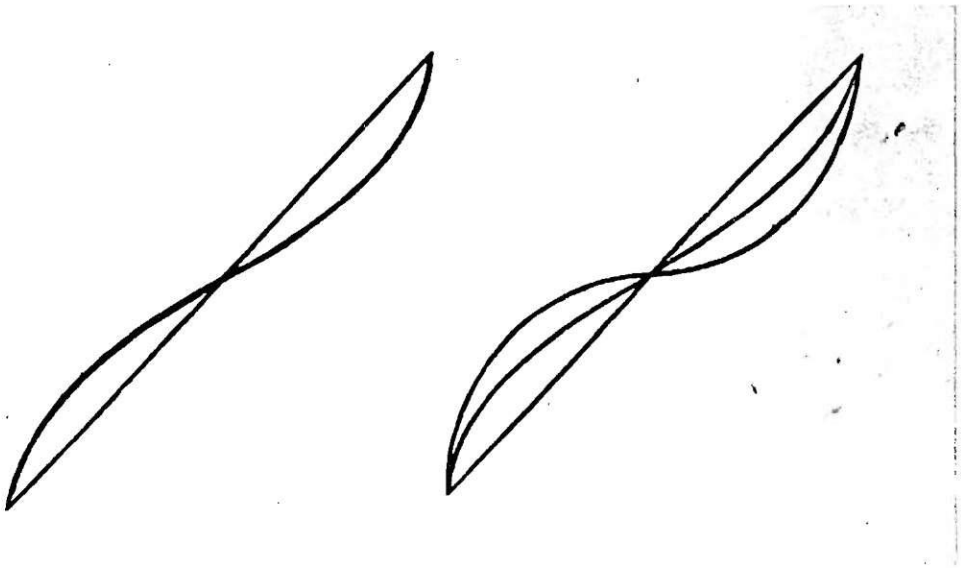


Figure 100. Illustration for Proposition X

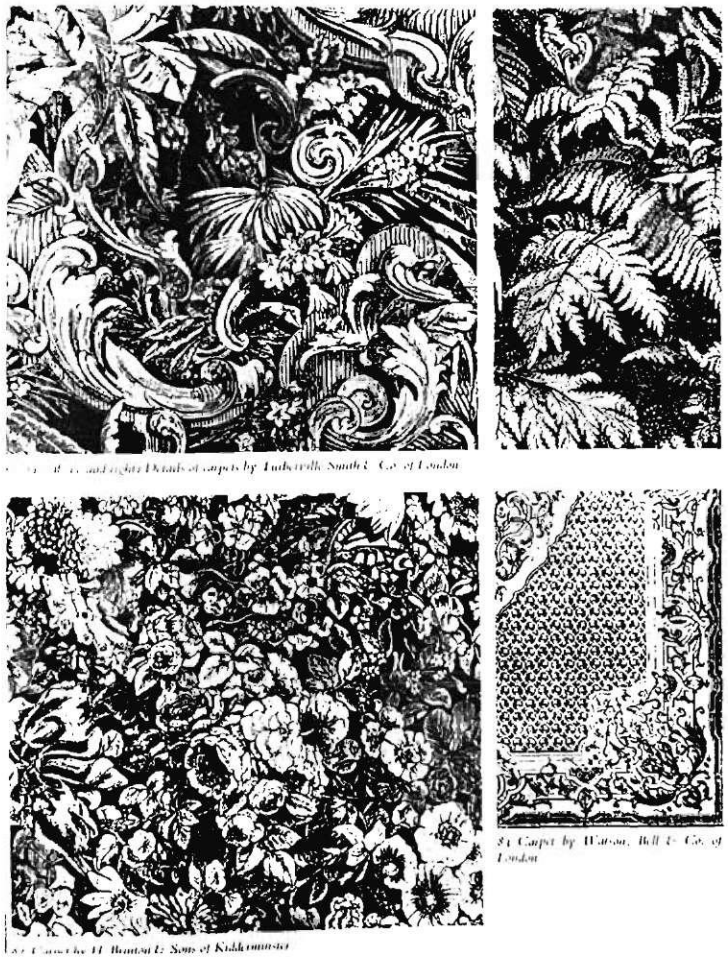


Figure 101. LEFT Victorian naturalism
Figure 102. RIGHT Drawing by Ruskin

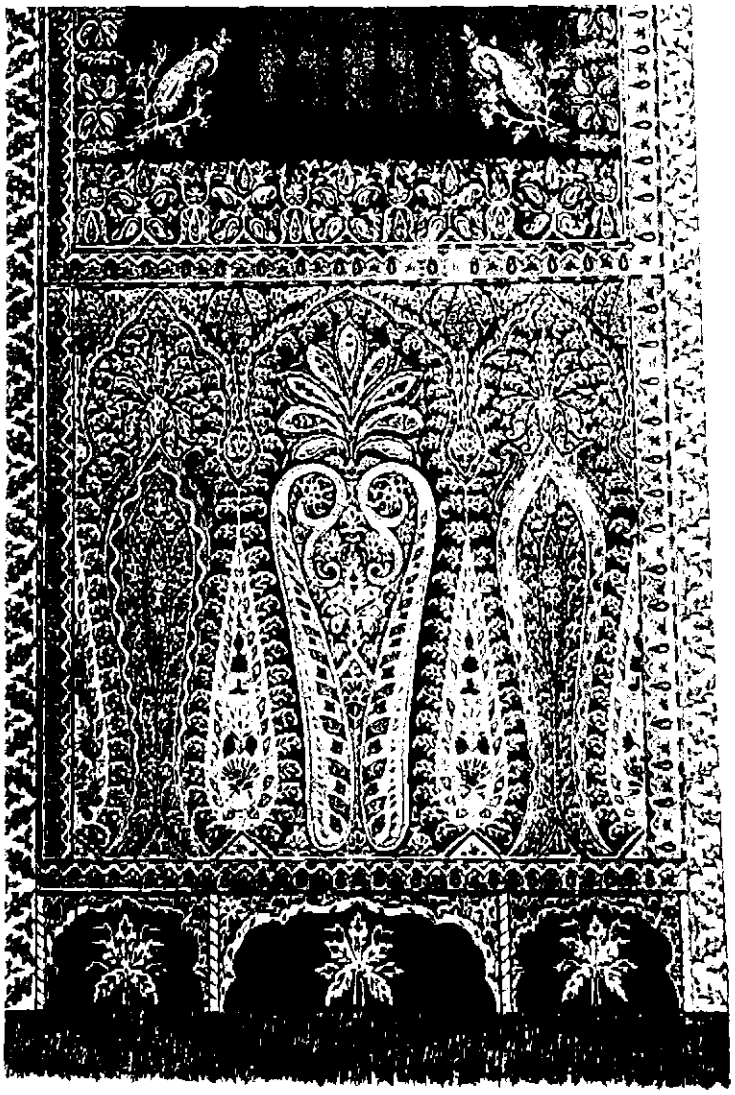
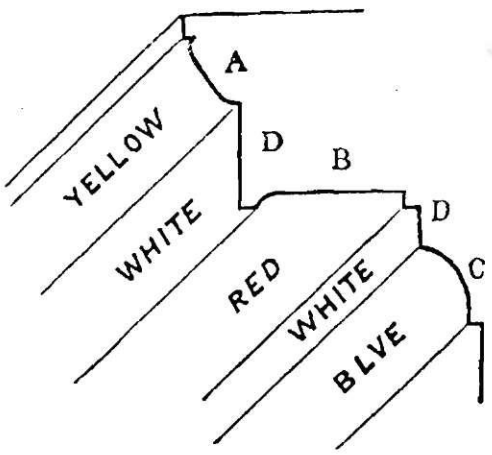


Figure 103. Textile example from the Indian Collection



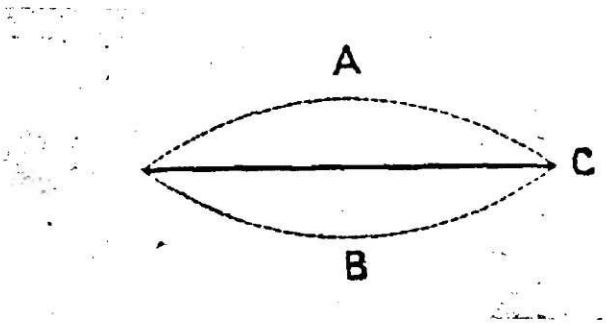
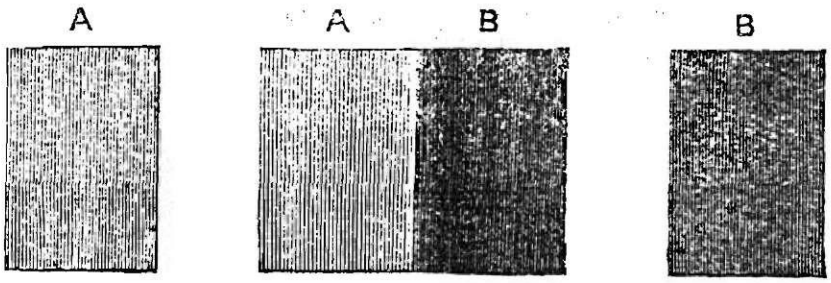
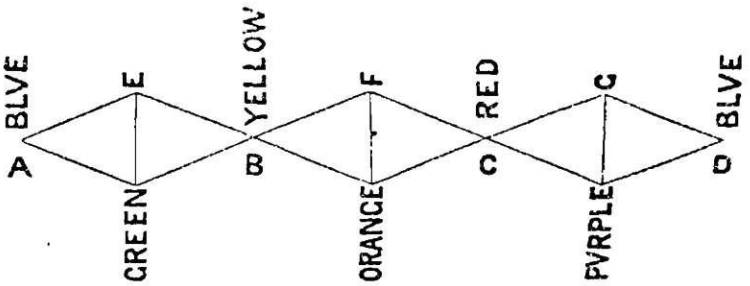


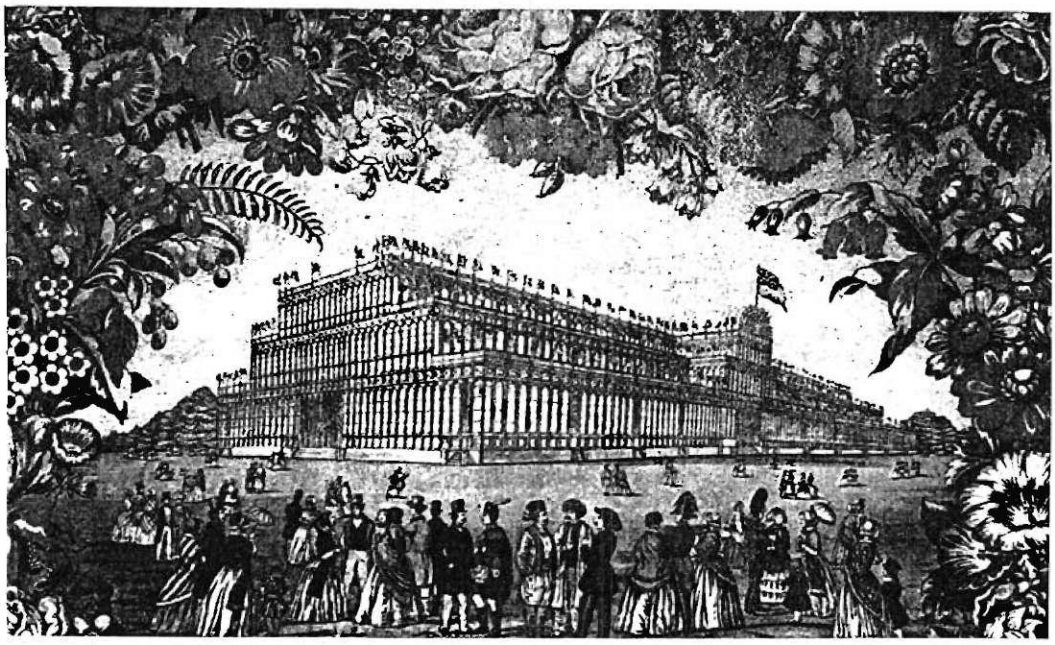
Figure 104. TOP Molding example
Figure 105. BOTTOM Color theory example





Figures 106 and 107. Color theory examples

Figure 108. TOP Example of "False Principles"
Figure 109. BOTTOM Example of "False Principles"



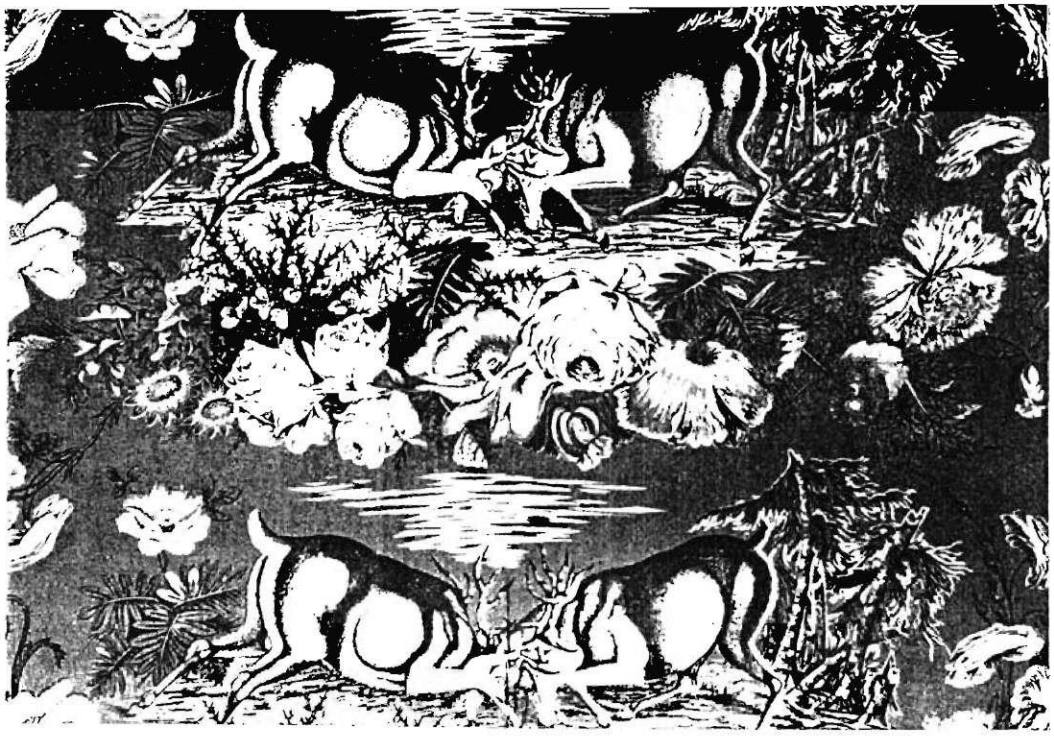


Figure 110. TOP Textile design showing the Crystal Palace
Figure 111. BOTTOM Example of "False Principles"

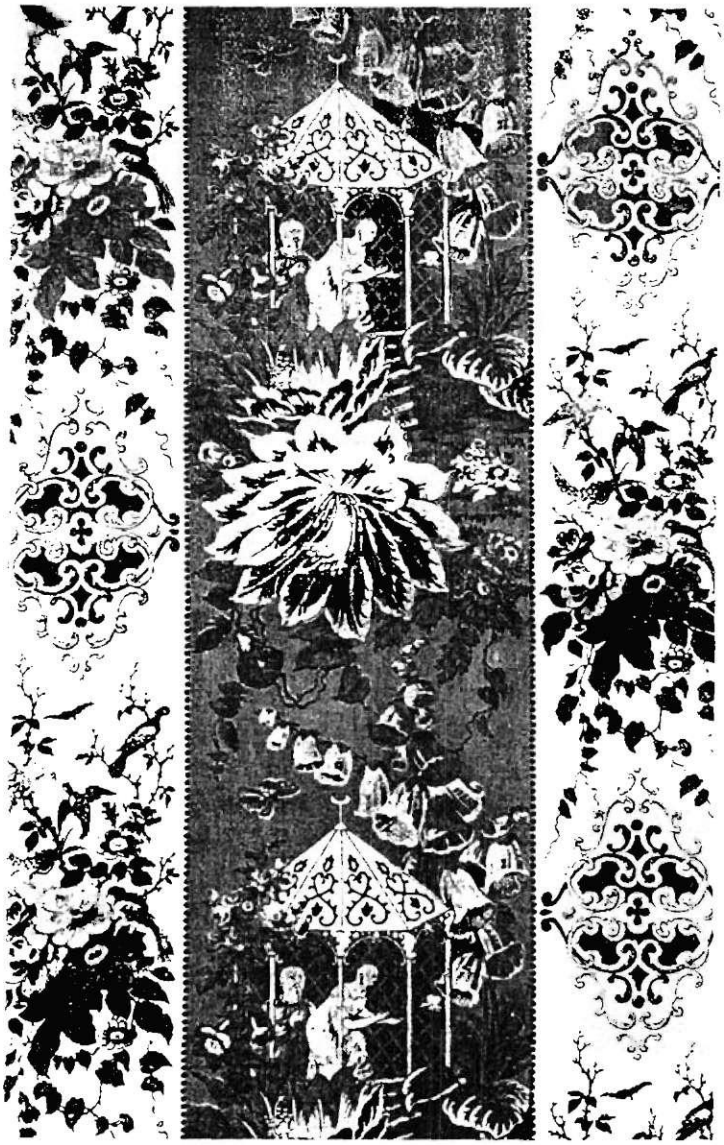
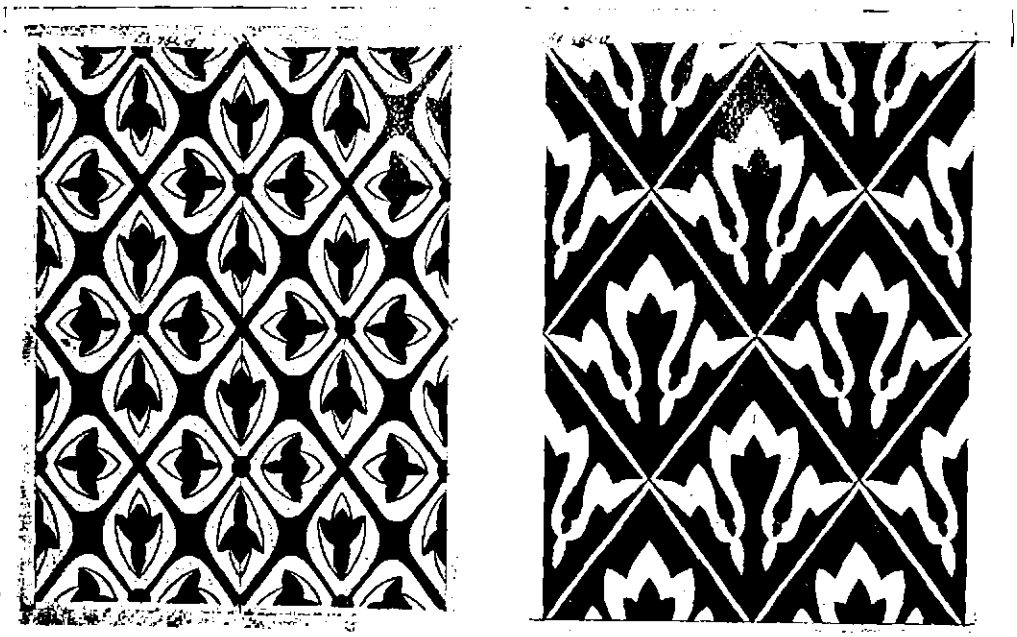


Figure 112. Nineteenth-century wallpaper design showing "False Principles"

Figure 113. Design by Jones



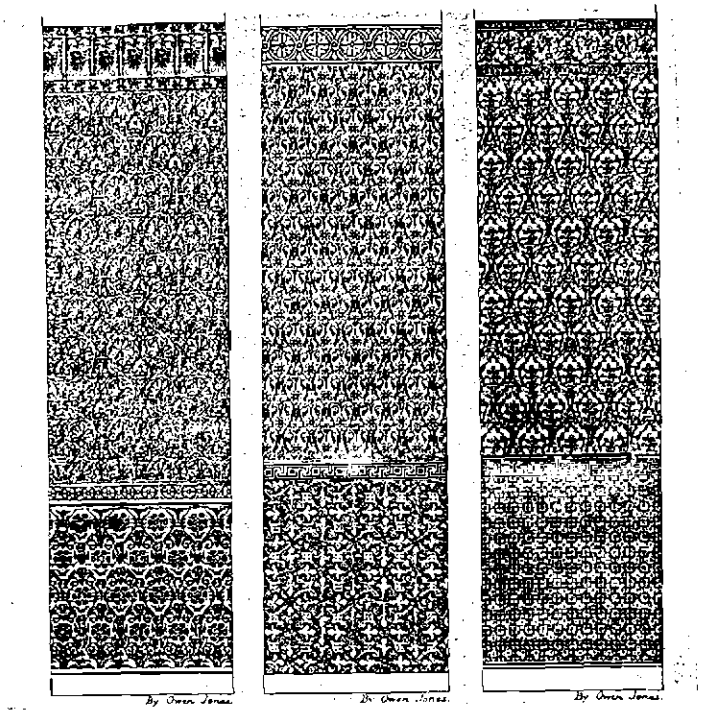


Figure 114. TOP Designs by Jones: Textiles
Figure 115. BOTTOM Designs by Jones: Wallpaper

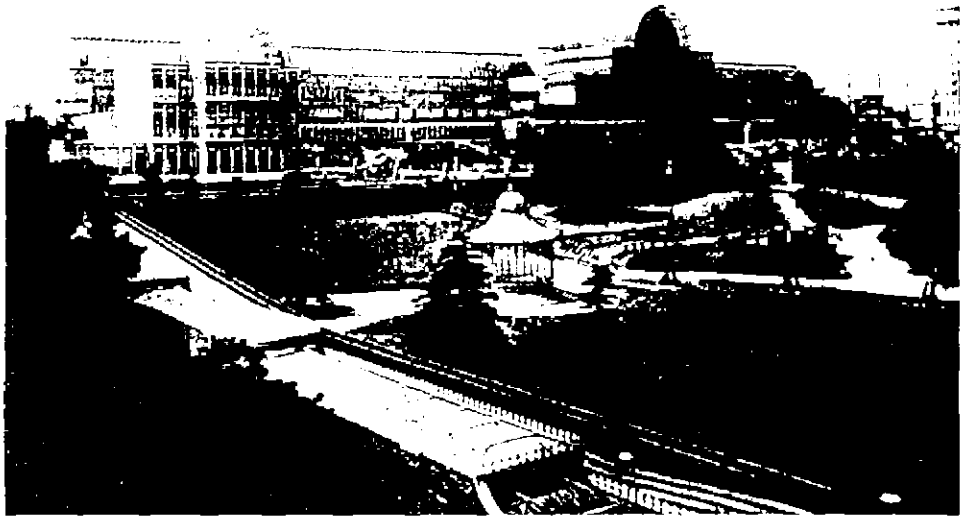


Figure 116. Crystal Palace at Sydenham (Destroyed by fire, 1937)

Figure 117. Interior, Crystal Palace at Sydenham

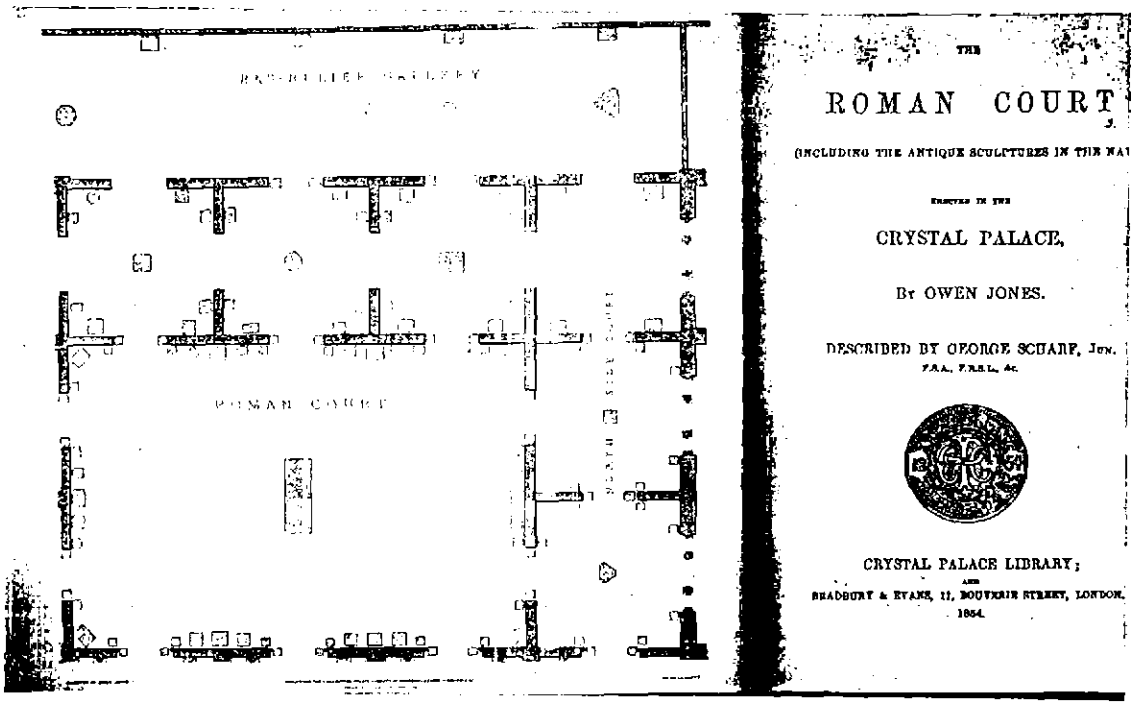


Figure 118. TOP Cover to the Handbook for *The Roman Court.*
Figure 119. BOTTOM Egyptian Court, Crystal Palace at Sydenham

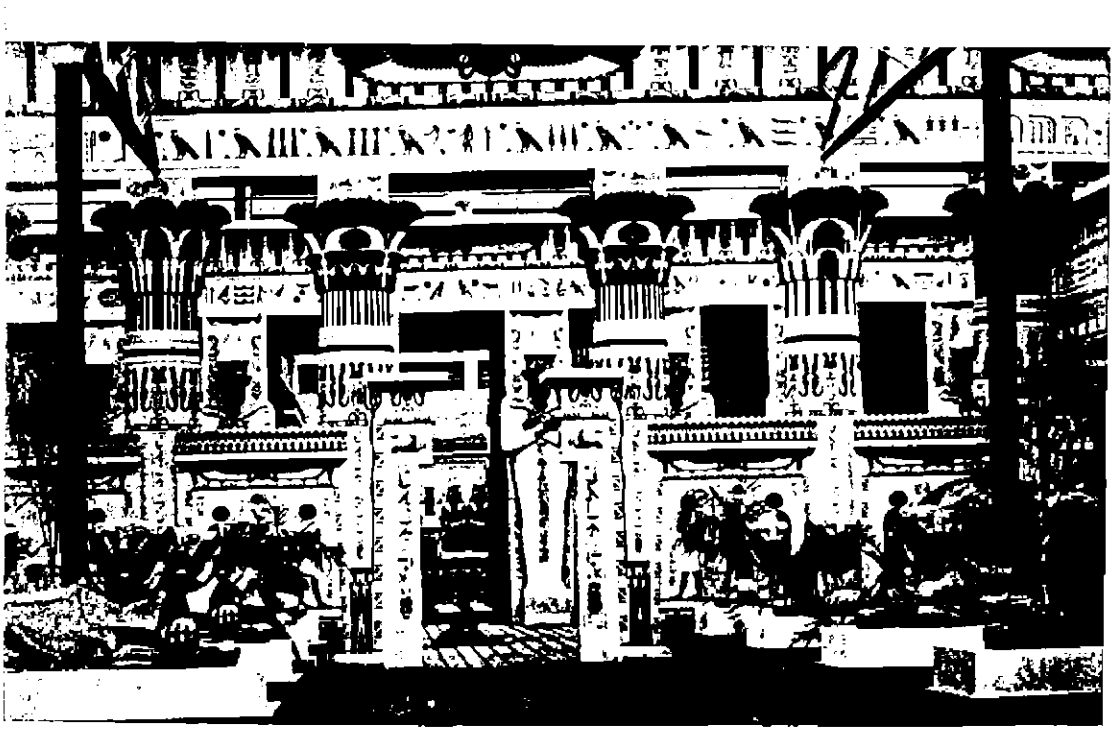
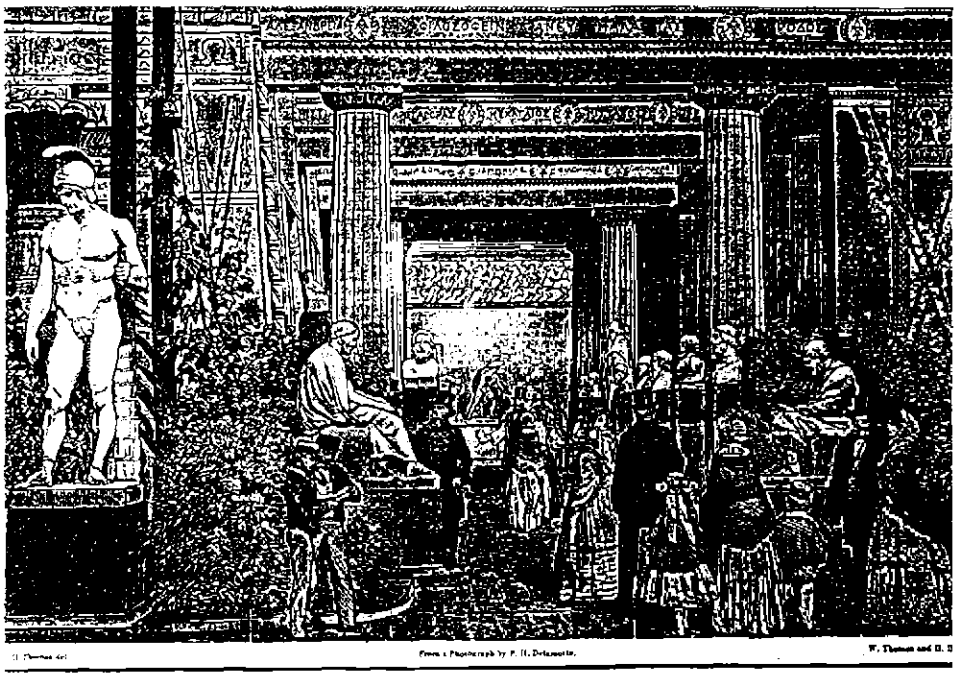


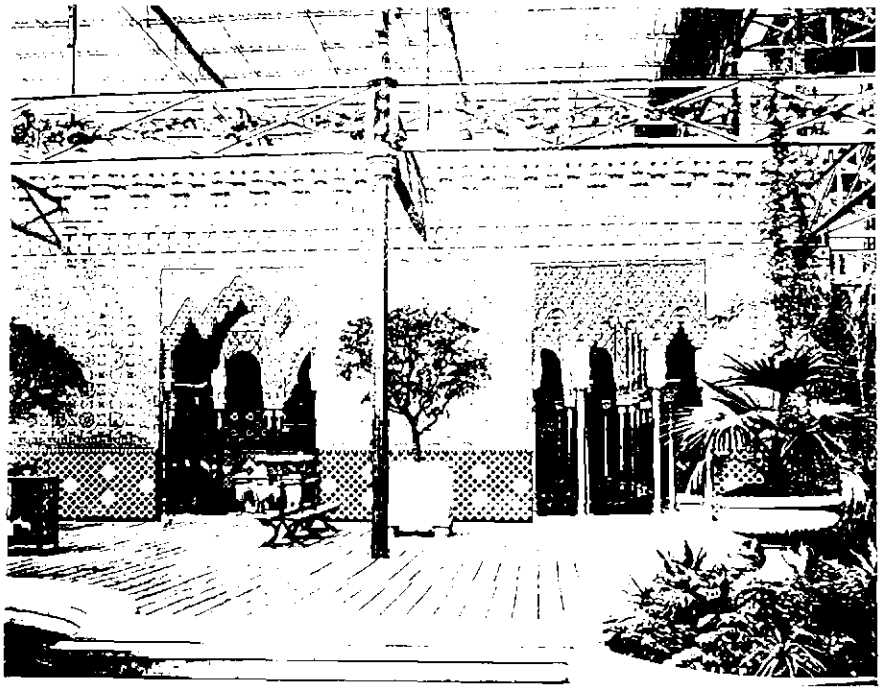
Figure 120. TOP Egyptian Court, Crystal Palace at Sydenham
Figure 121. BOTTOM Egyptian Court, Crystal Palace at Sydenham



CRYSTAL PALACE.

GREEK COURT, SOUTH SIDE.

Figure 122. TOP Greek Court, Crystal Palace at Sydenham
Figure 123. BOTTOM Greek Court, Crystal Palace at Sydenham



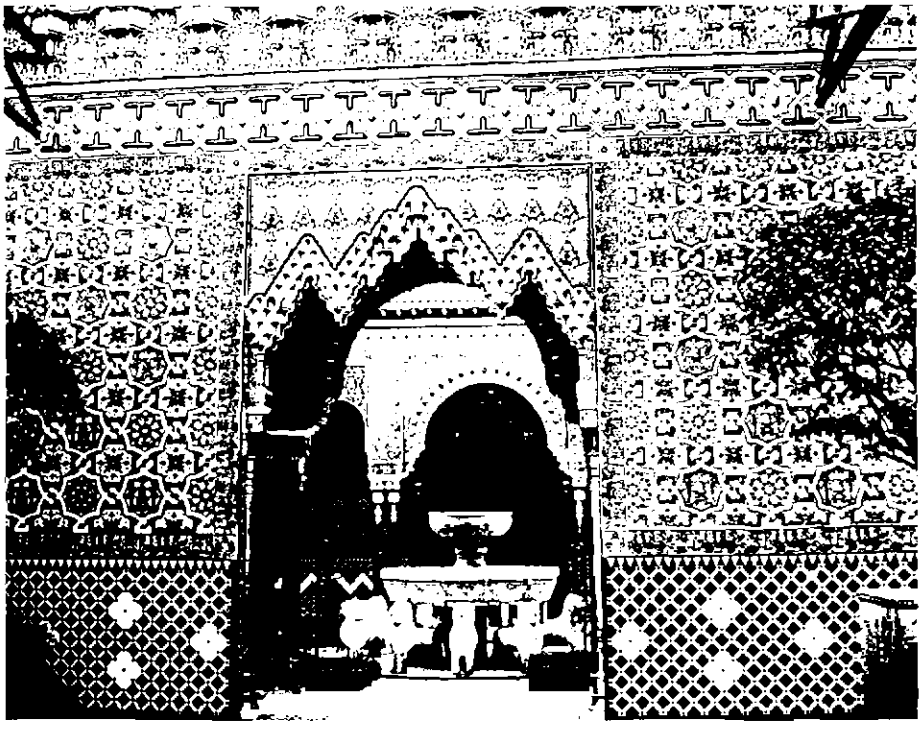


Figure 124. TOP Alhambra Court, Crystal Palace at Sydenham
Figure 125. BOTTOM Alhambra Court, Crystal Palace at Sydenham

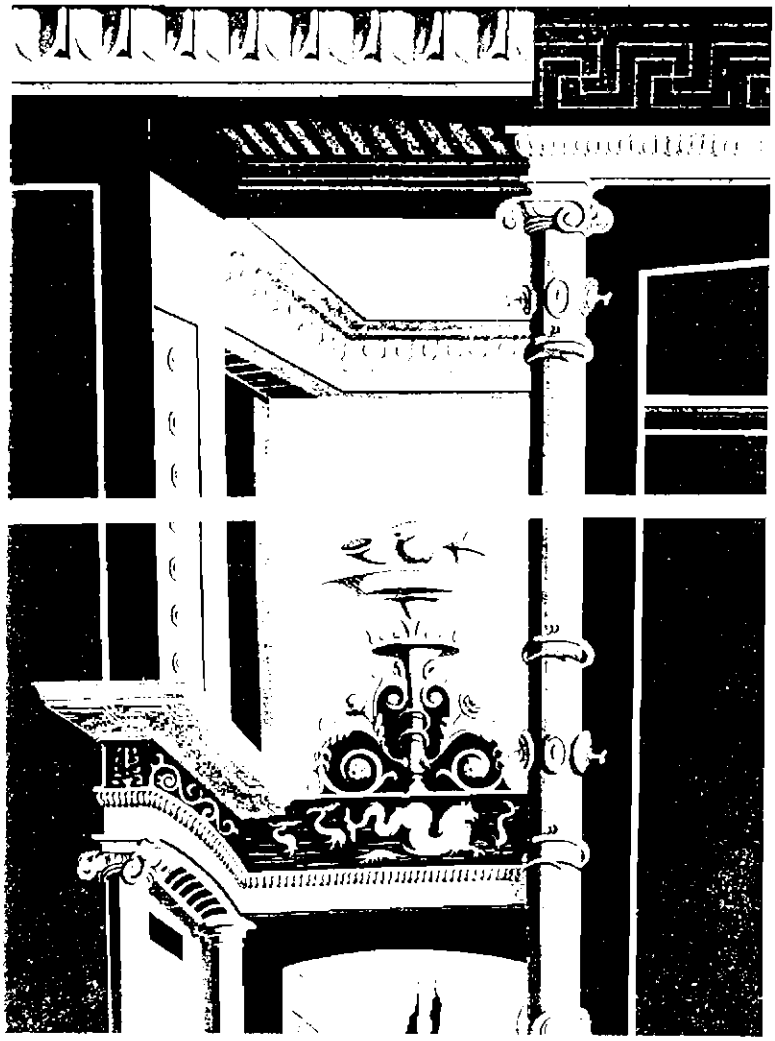
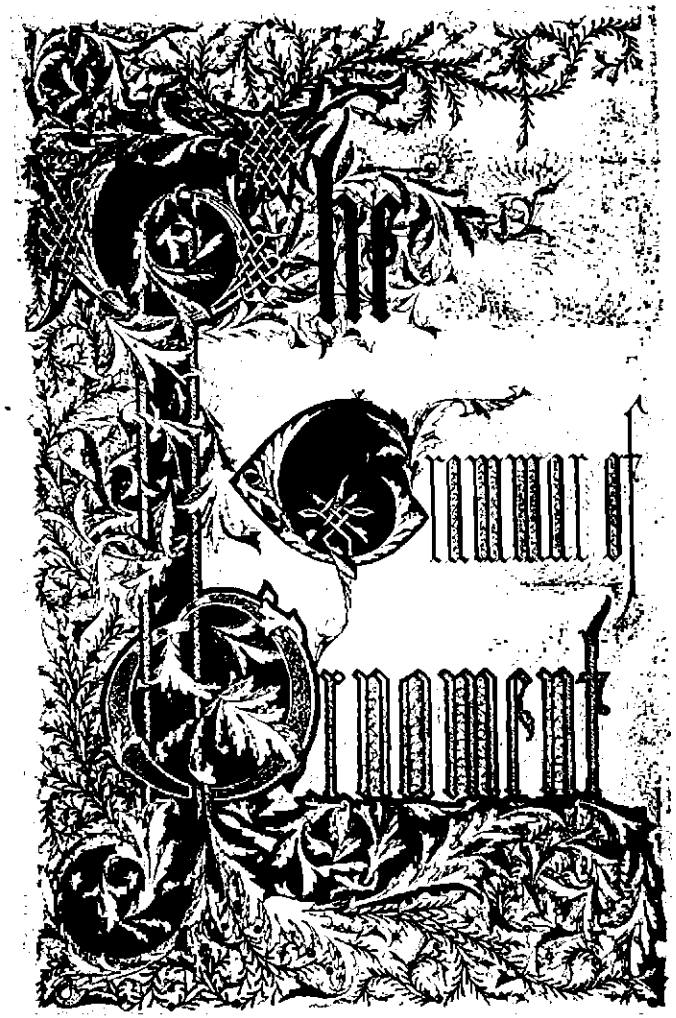


Figure 126. Gruner



THE

GRAMMAR OF ORNAMENT

BY

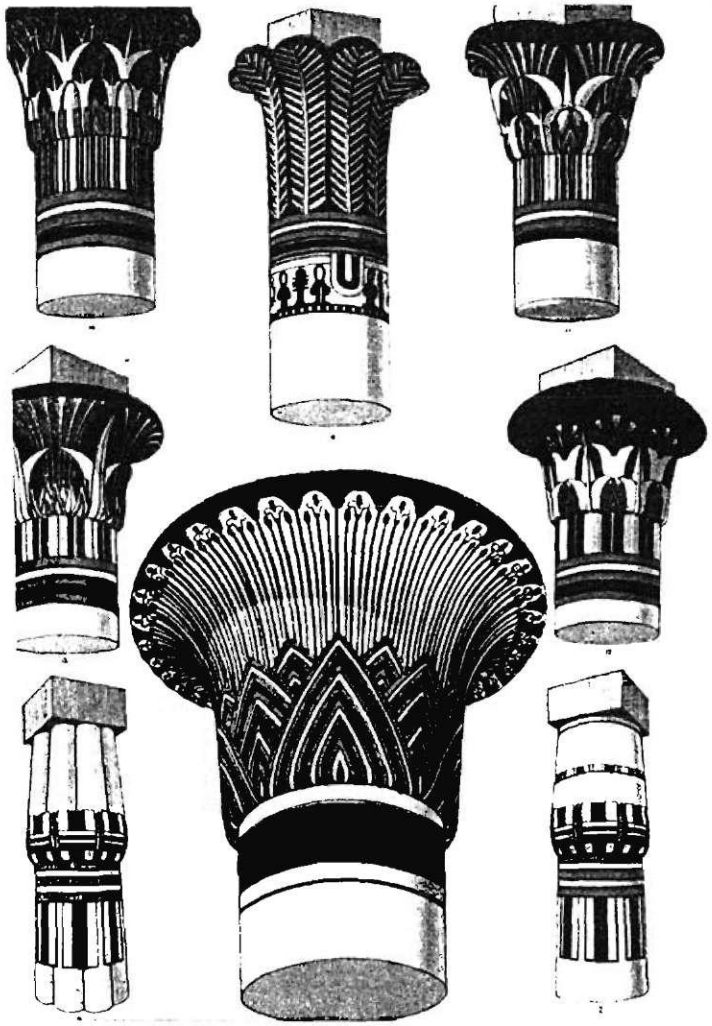
OWEN JONES.

ILLUSTRATED BY EXAMPLES
FROM VARIOUS STYLES OF ORNAMENT.

ONE HUNDRED AND TWELVE PLATES.

LONDON
BERNARD QUARITCH,
15 PICCADILLY.
1868.

Figure 127. LEFT Title page, *Grammar of Ornament*
Figure 128. RIGHT Title page, *Grammar of Ornament*



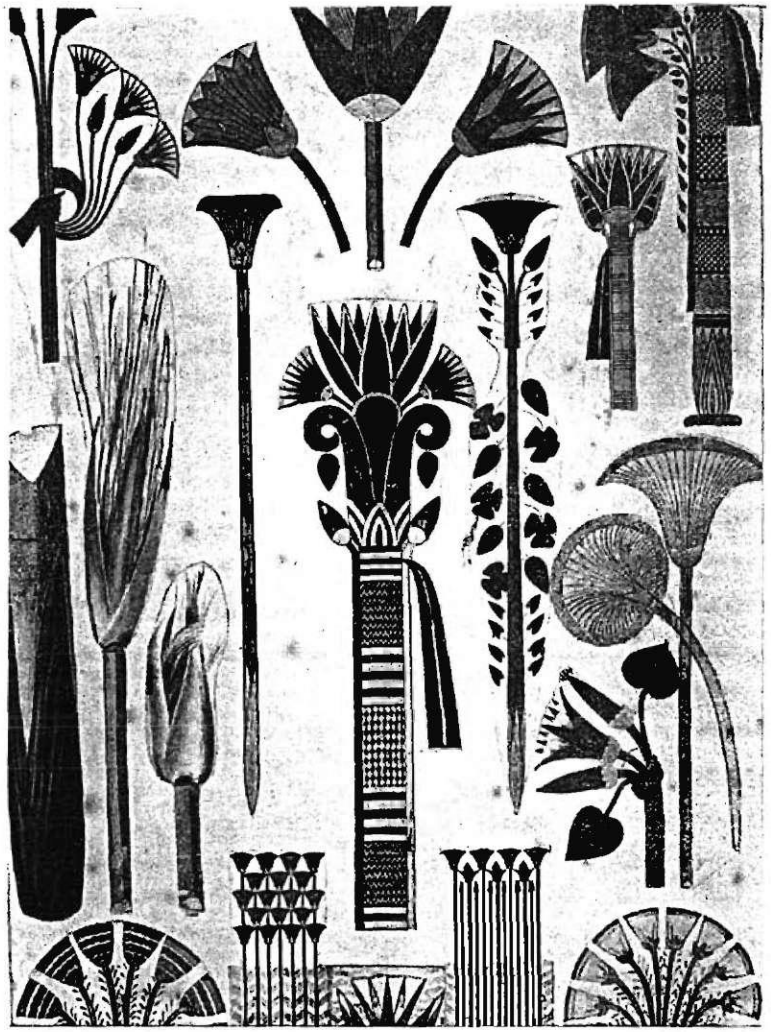


Figure 129. LEFT *Grammar of Ornament*
Figure 130. RIGHT *Grammar of Ornament*

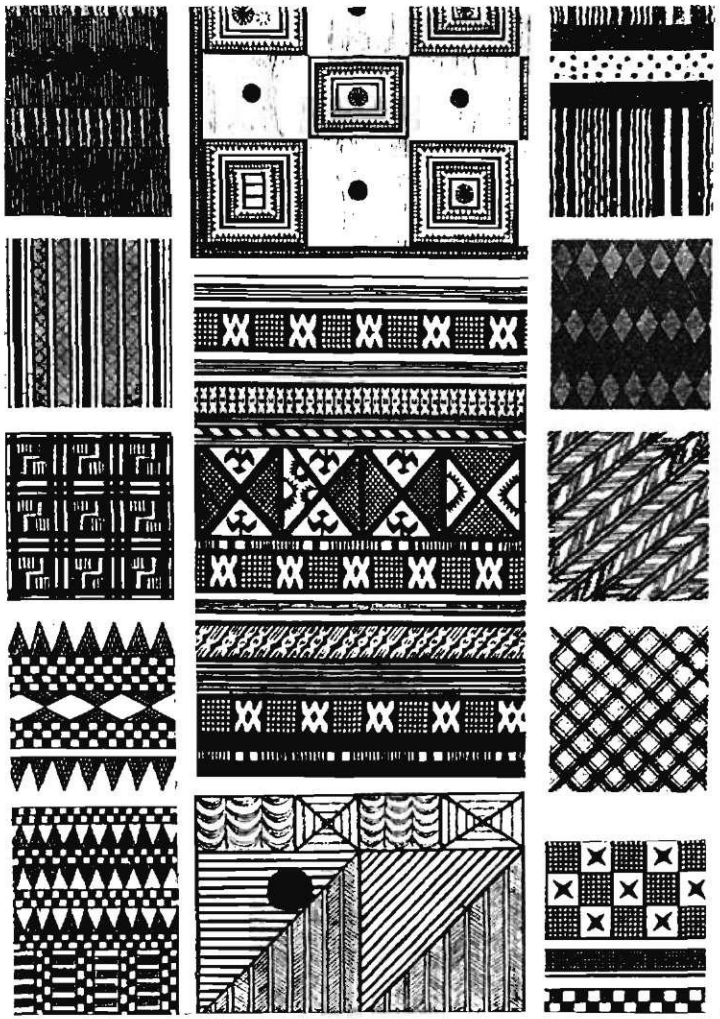


Figure 131. LEFT *Grammar of Ornament*
Figure 132. RIGHT *Grammar of Ornament*

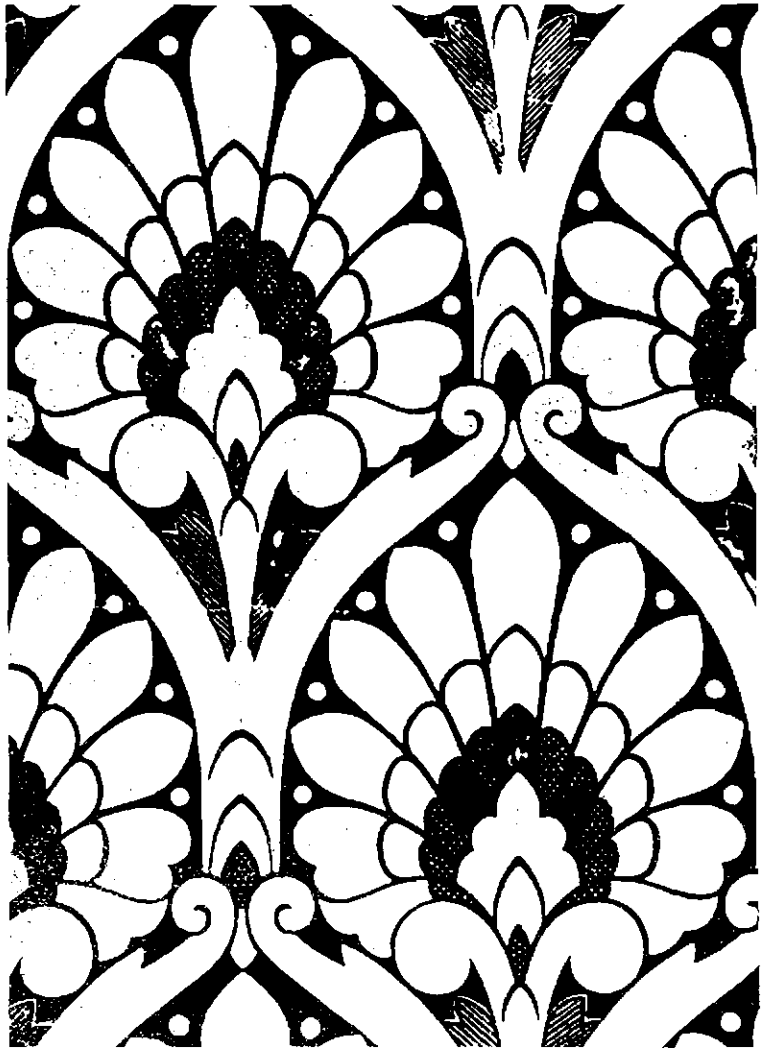


Figure 133. LEFT Design by Jones
Figure 134. RIGHT *Grammar of Ornament*

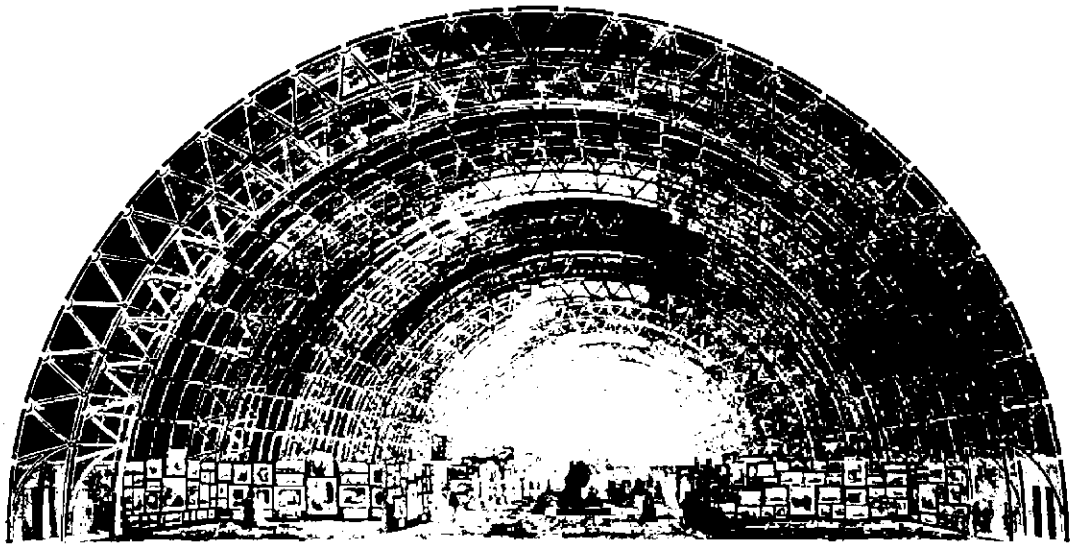


Figure 135. Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition Building Scheme

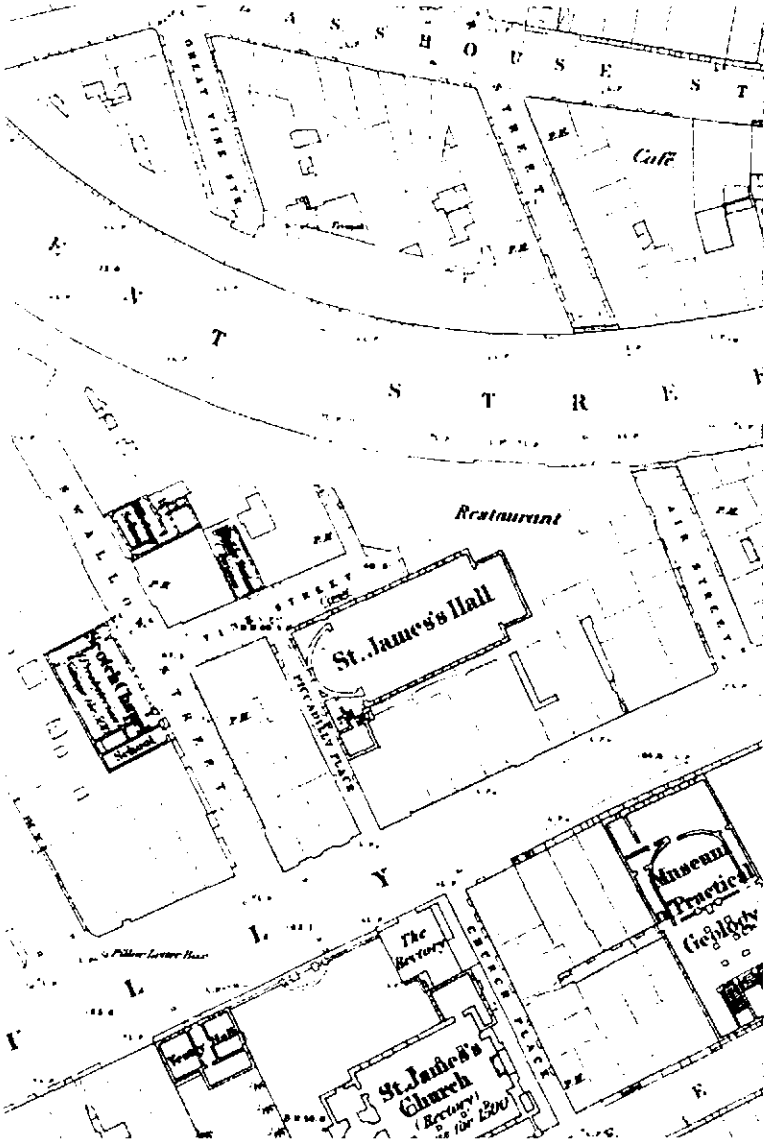


Figure 136. Map showing site of St. James's Hall

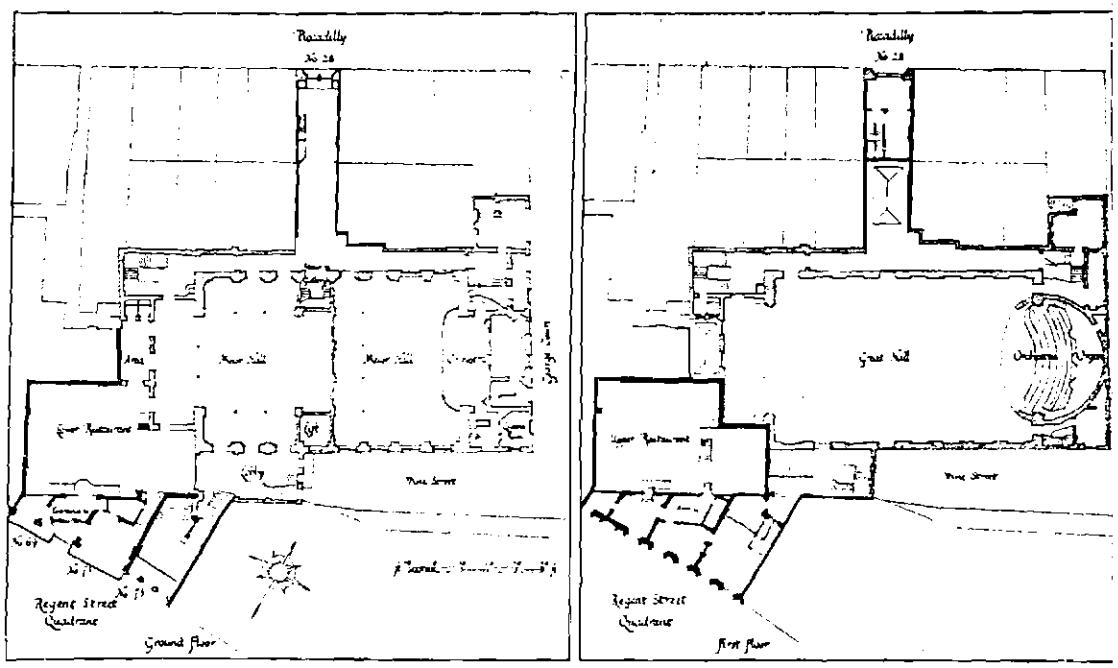


Figure 137. Plan, St. James's Hall

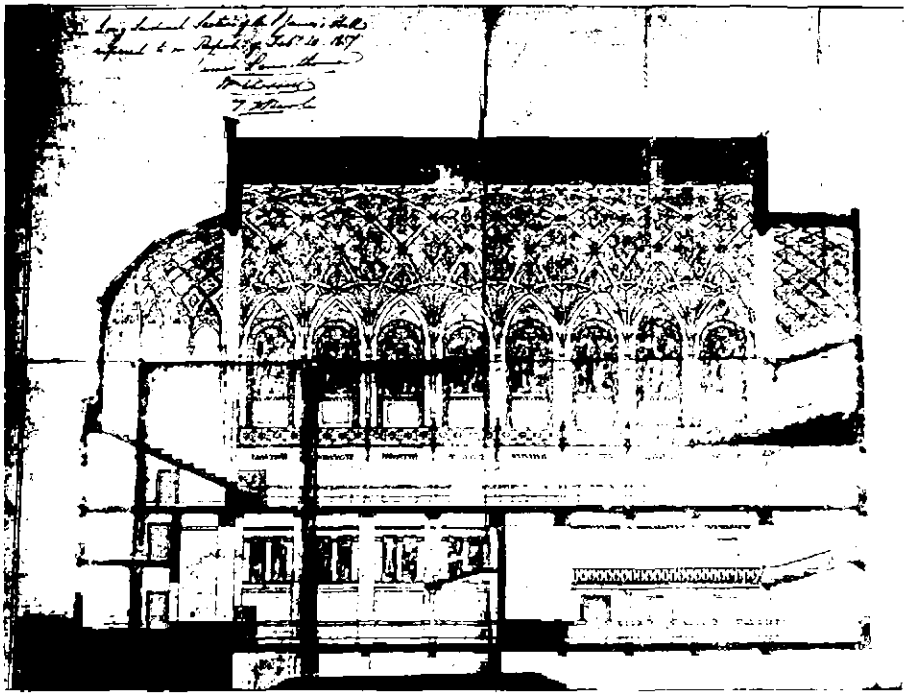


Figure 138. Section, St. James's Hall

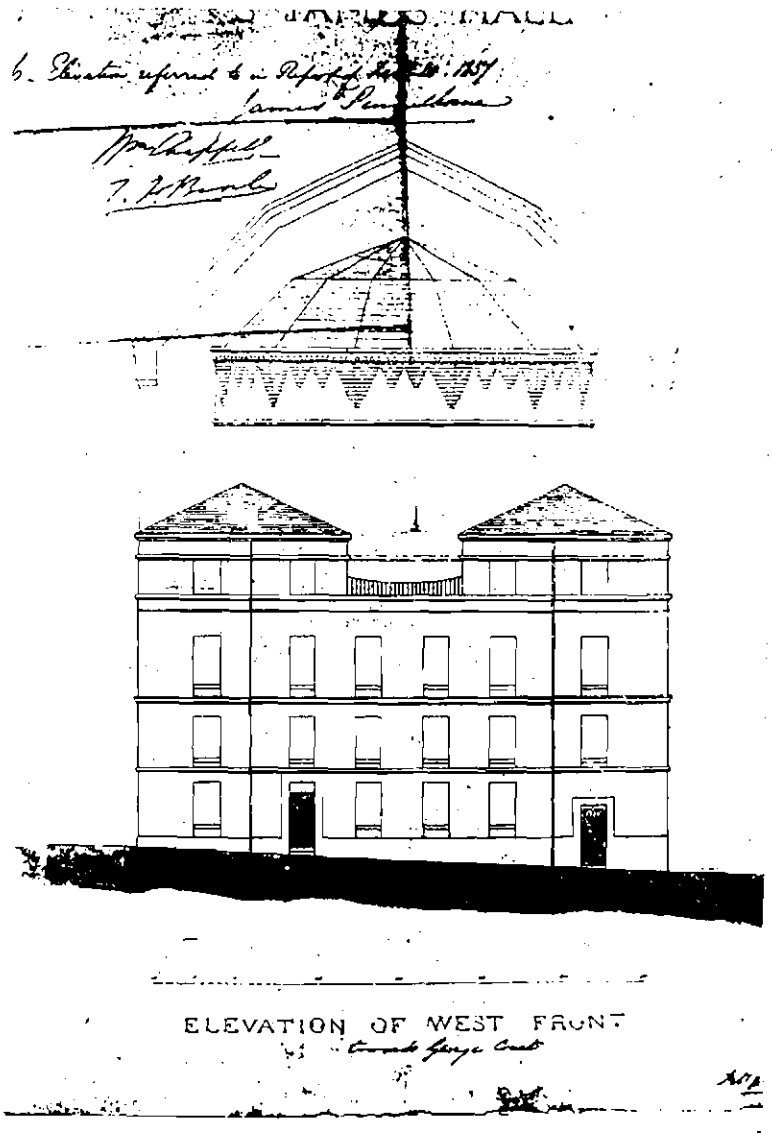
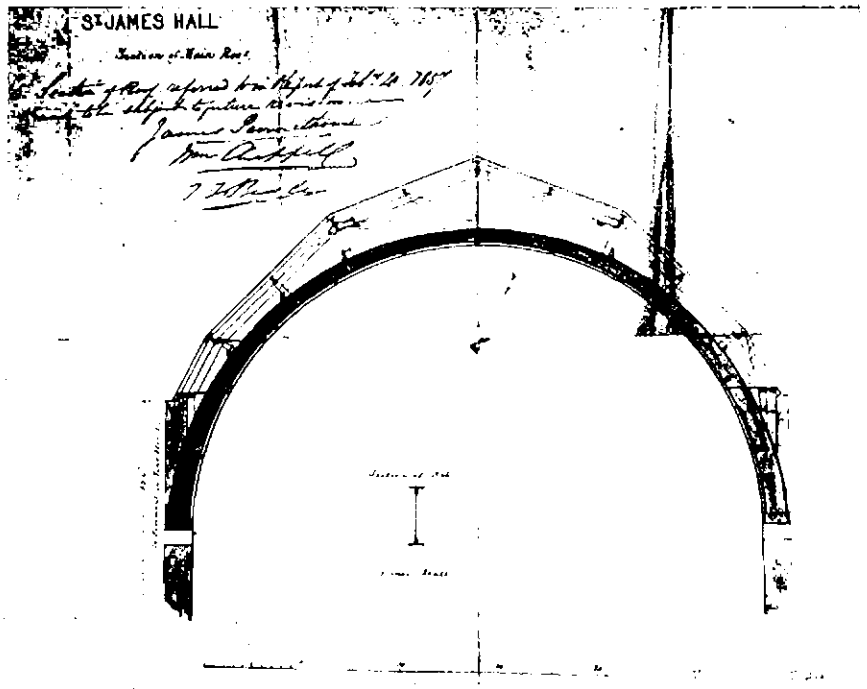


Figure 139. Elevation of West Front, St. James's Hall



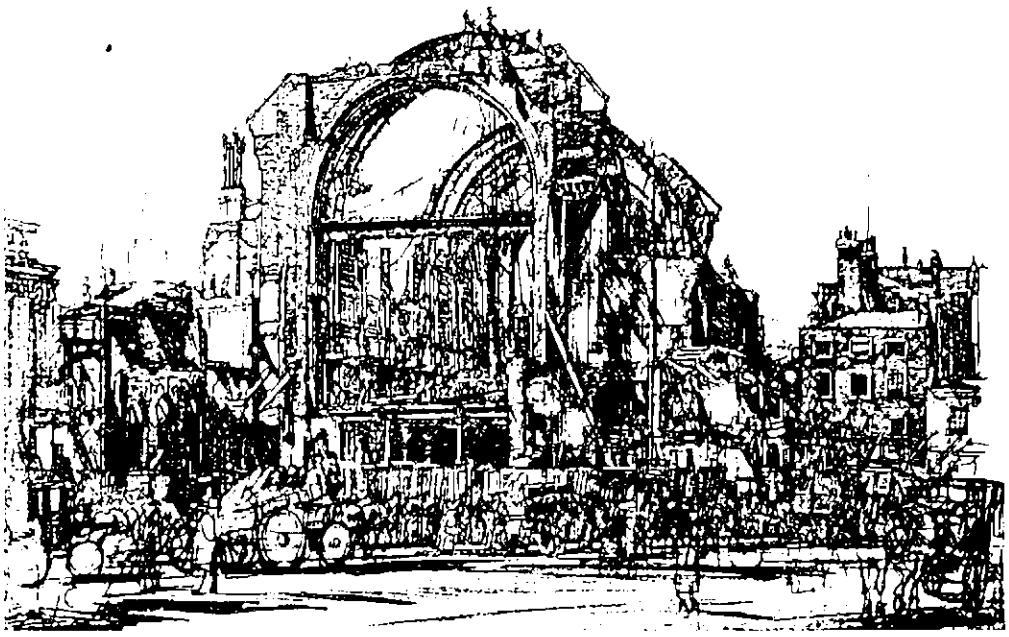
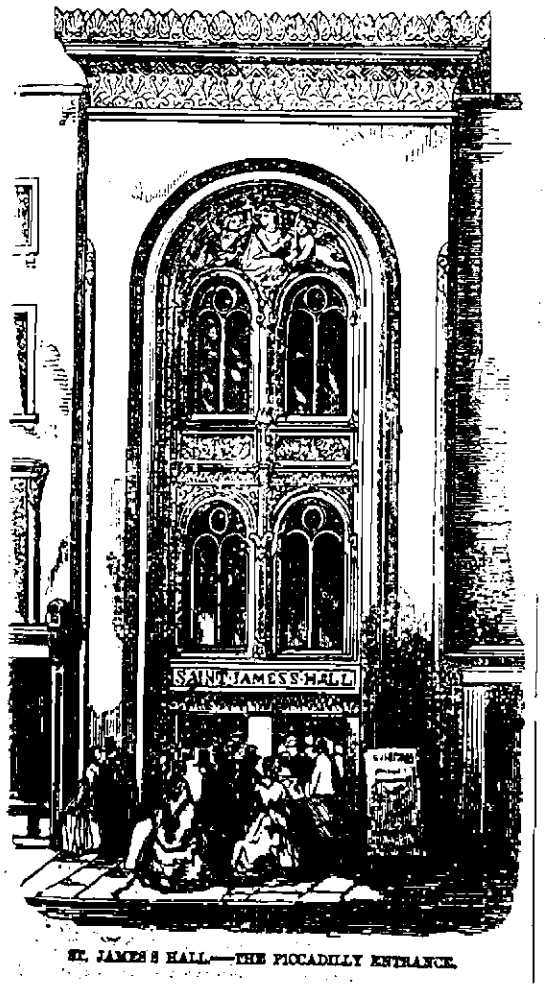
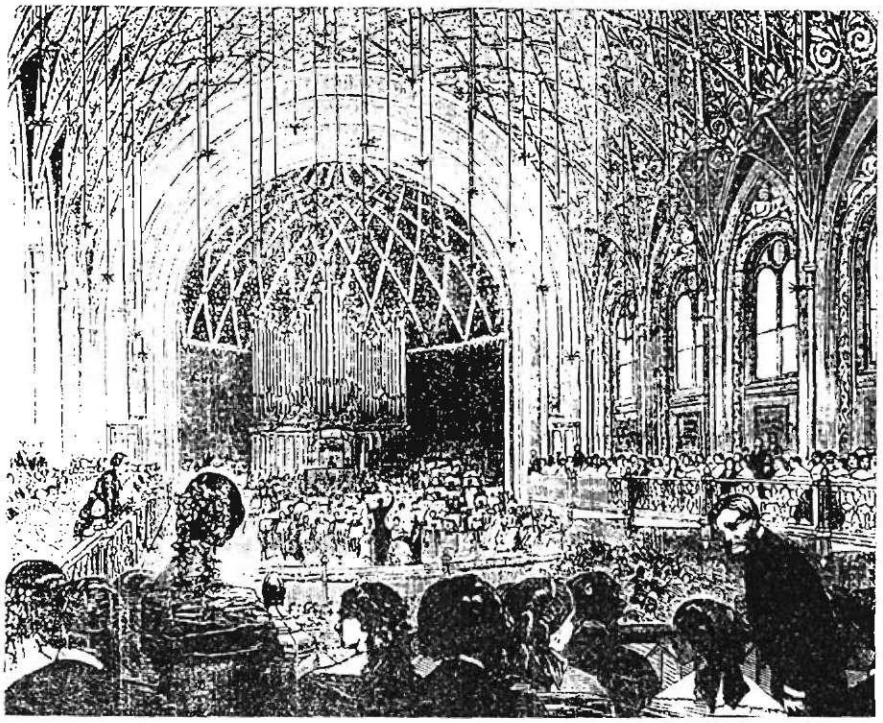


Figure 140A. TOP Section of Main Roof, St. James's Hall
Figure 140B. BOTTOM Roof, St. James's Hall, shown during demolition



ST. JAMES'S HALL.—THE PICCADILLY ENTRANCE.

Figure 141. Piccadilly Entrance, St. James's Hall



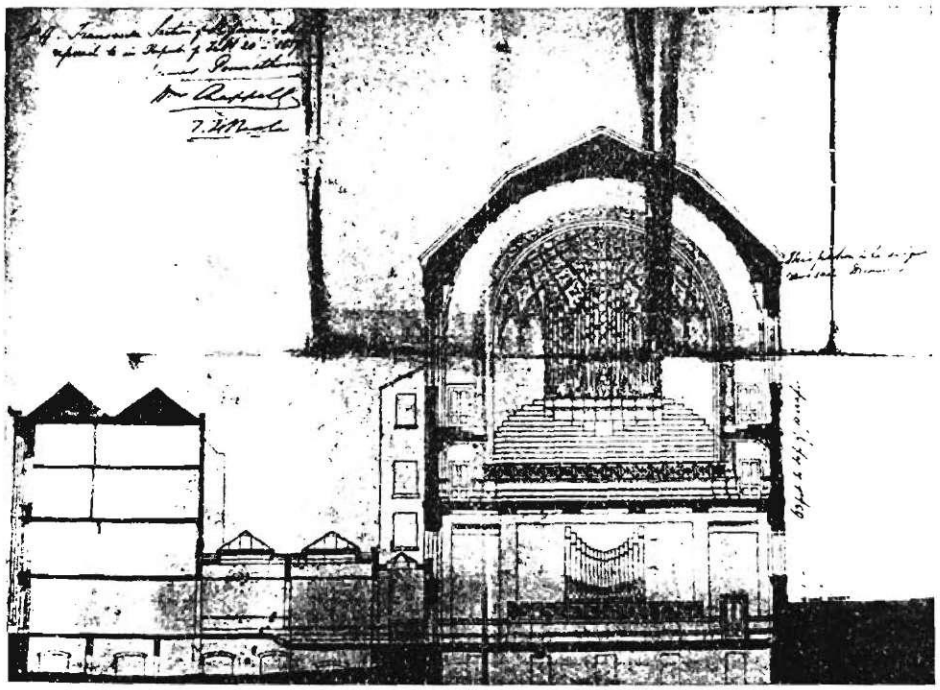


Figure 142. TOP Interior, St. James's Hall
Figure 143. BOTTOM Interior, St. James's Hall

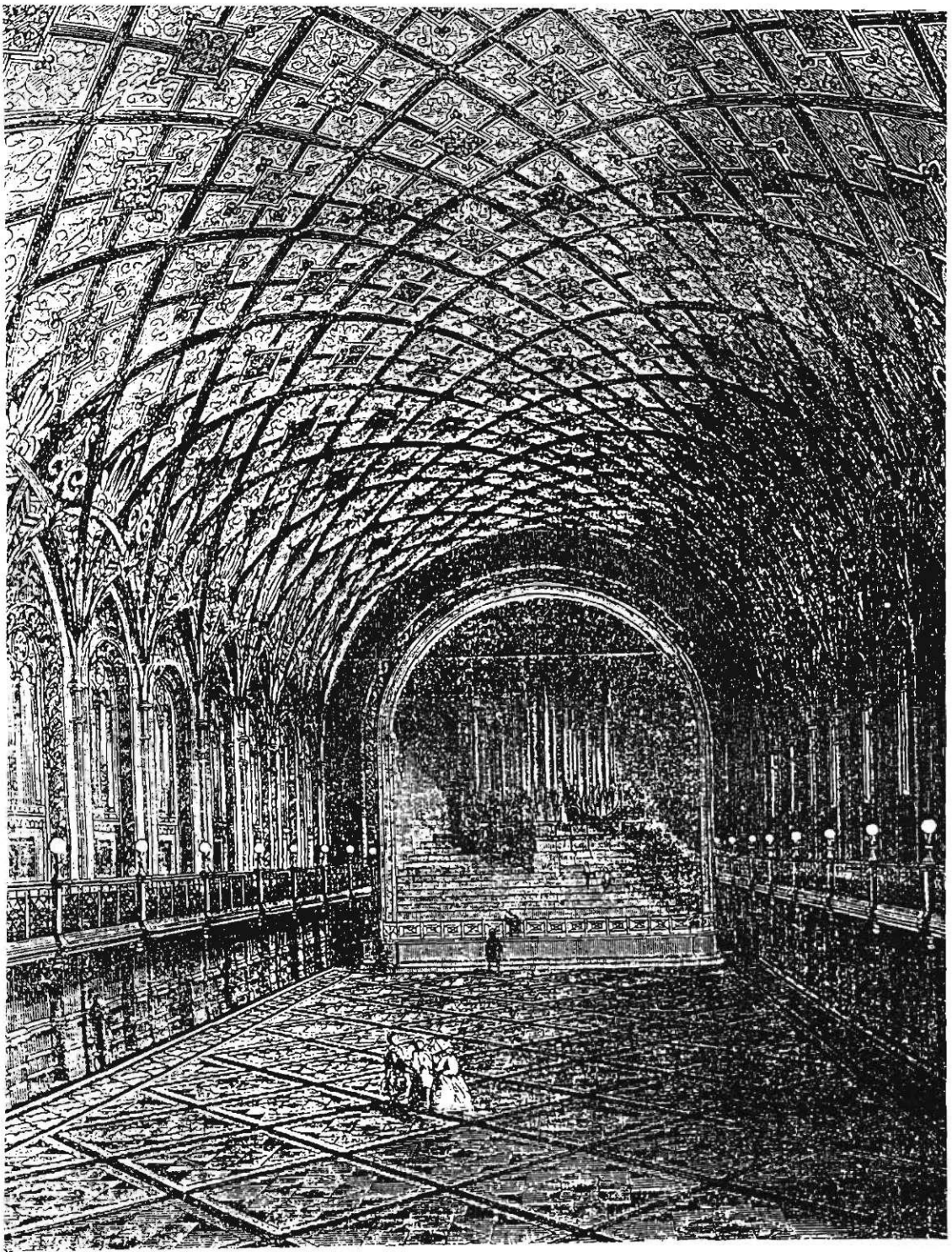


Figure 144A. Interior, St. James's Hall

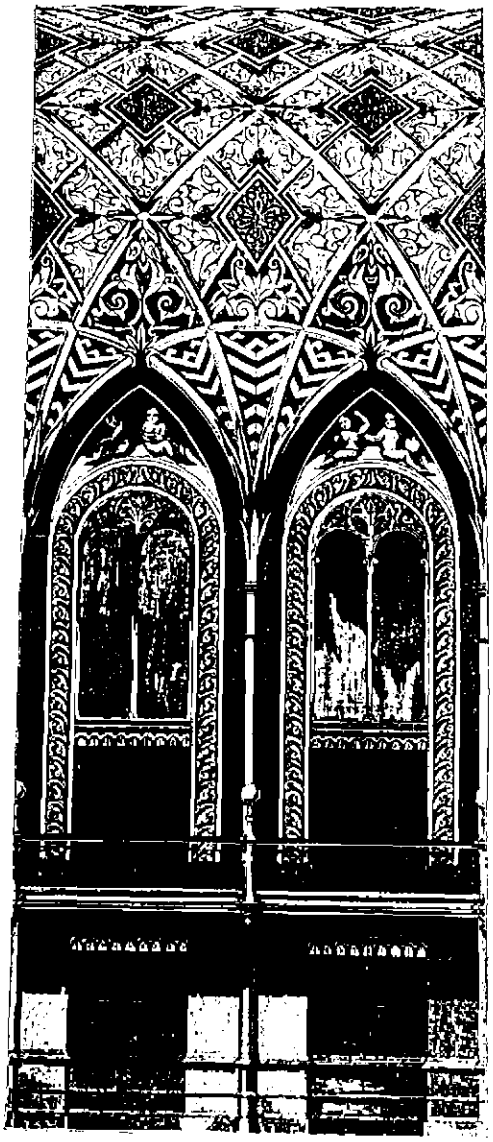


Figure 144B. Interior, St. James's Hall

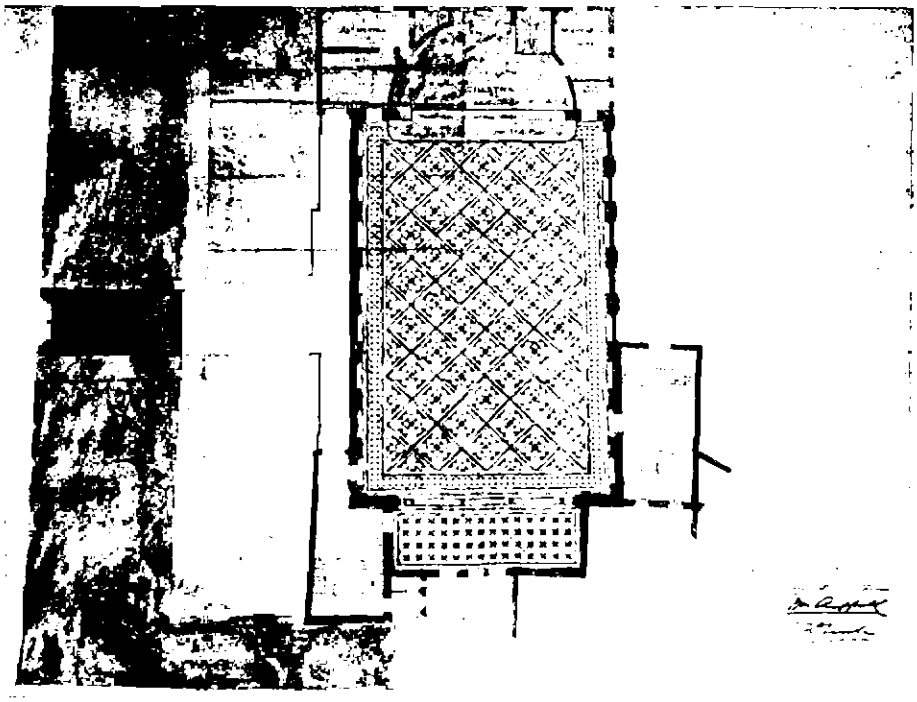
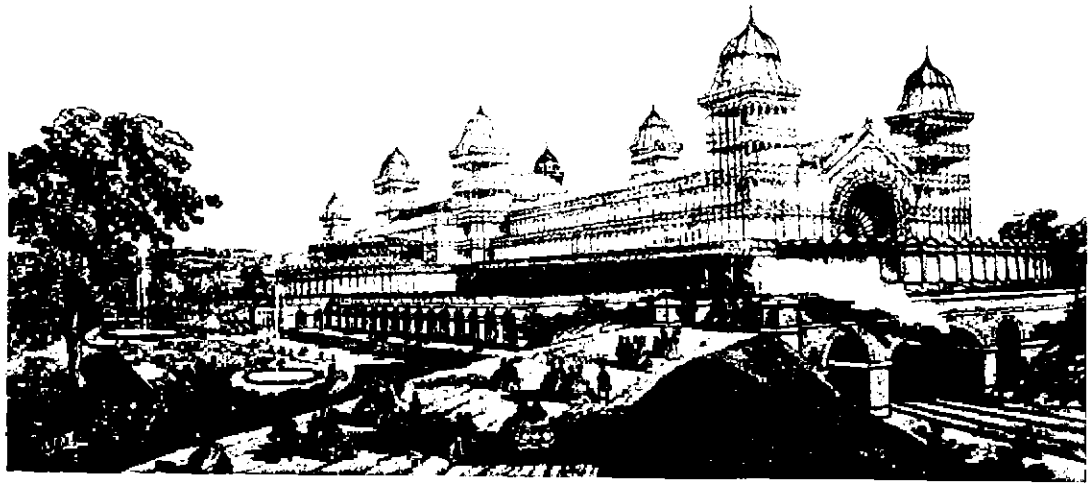


Figure 145. Floor, St. James's Hall



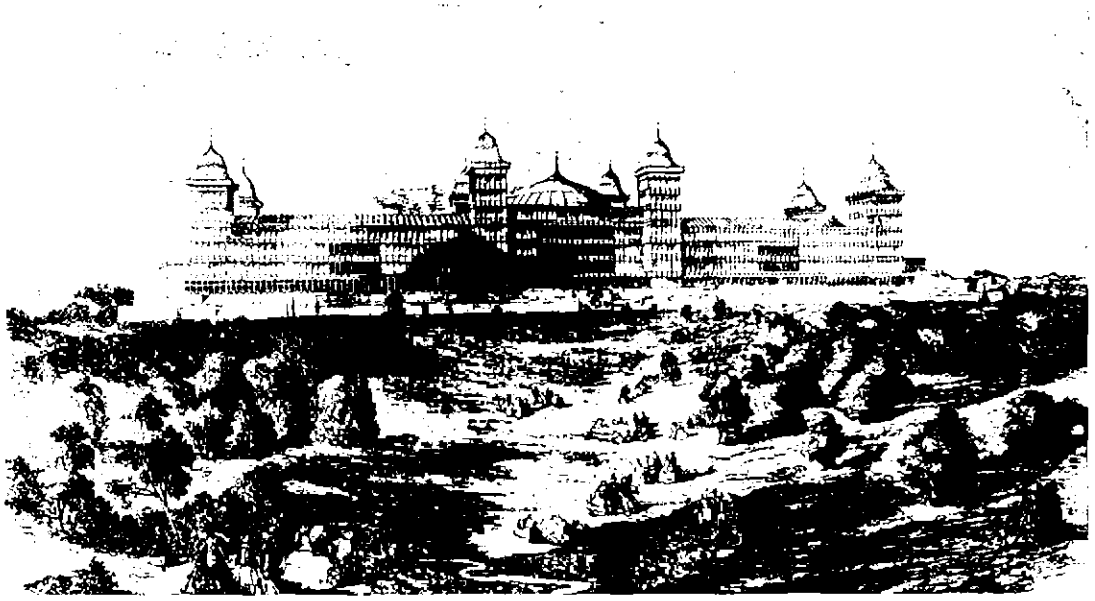
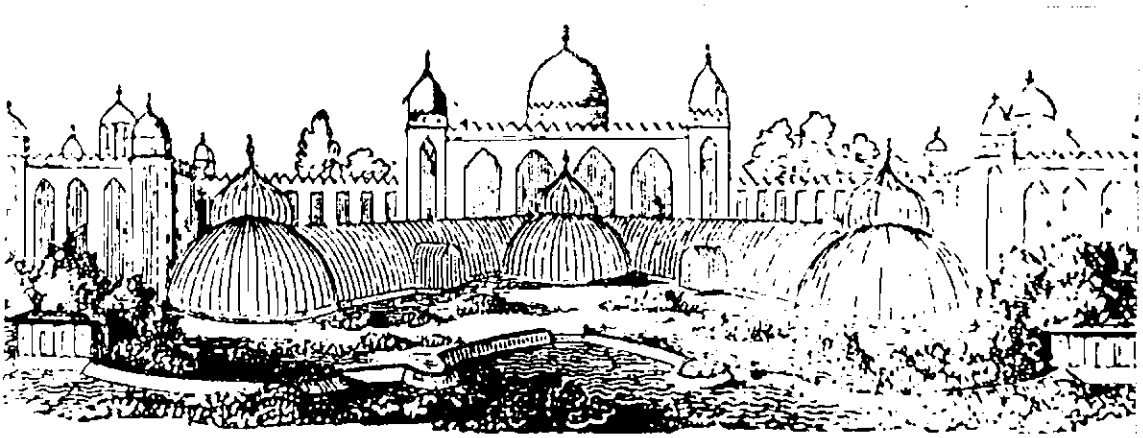


Figure 146. TOP Palace of the People, Muswell Hill
Figure 147. BOTTOM Palace of the People, Muswell Hill



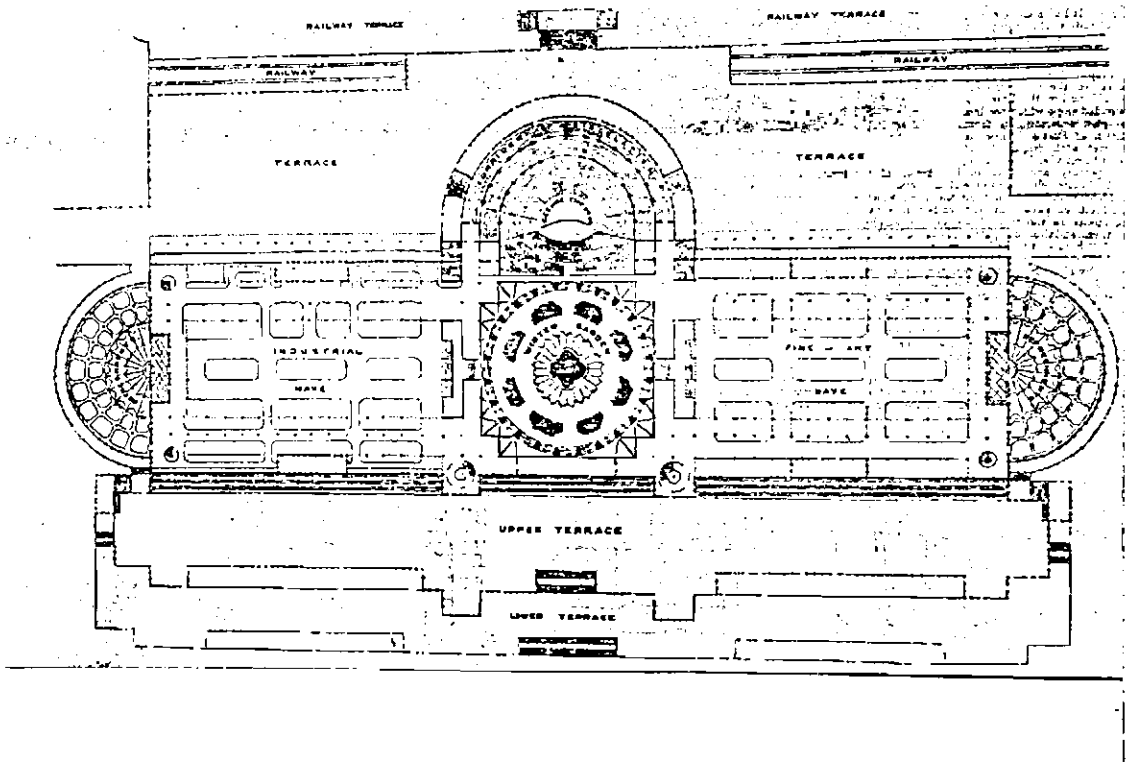


Figure 148. TOP Drawing for a "Glass House" by John C. Loudon
Figure 149. BOTTOM Plan, Palace of the People, Muswell Hill

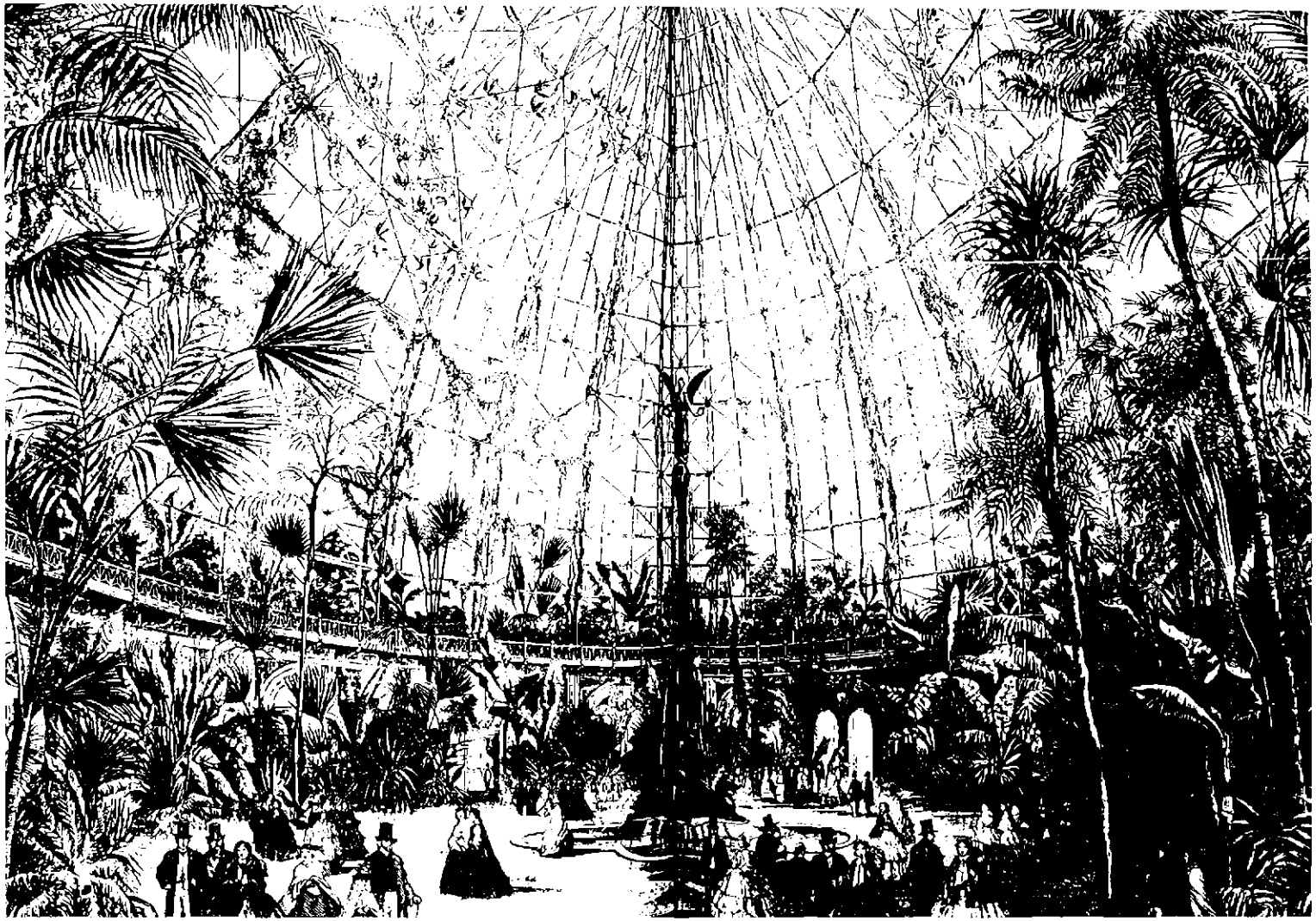


Figure 150. Interior, Palace of the People, Muswell Hill

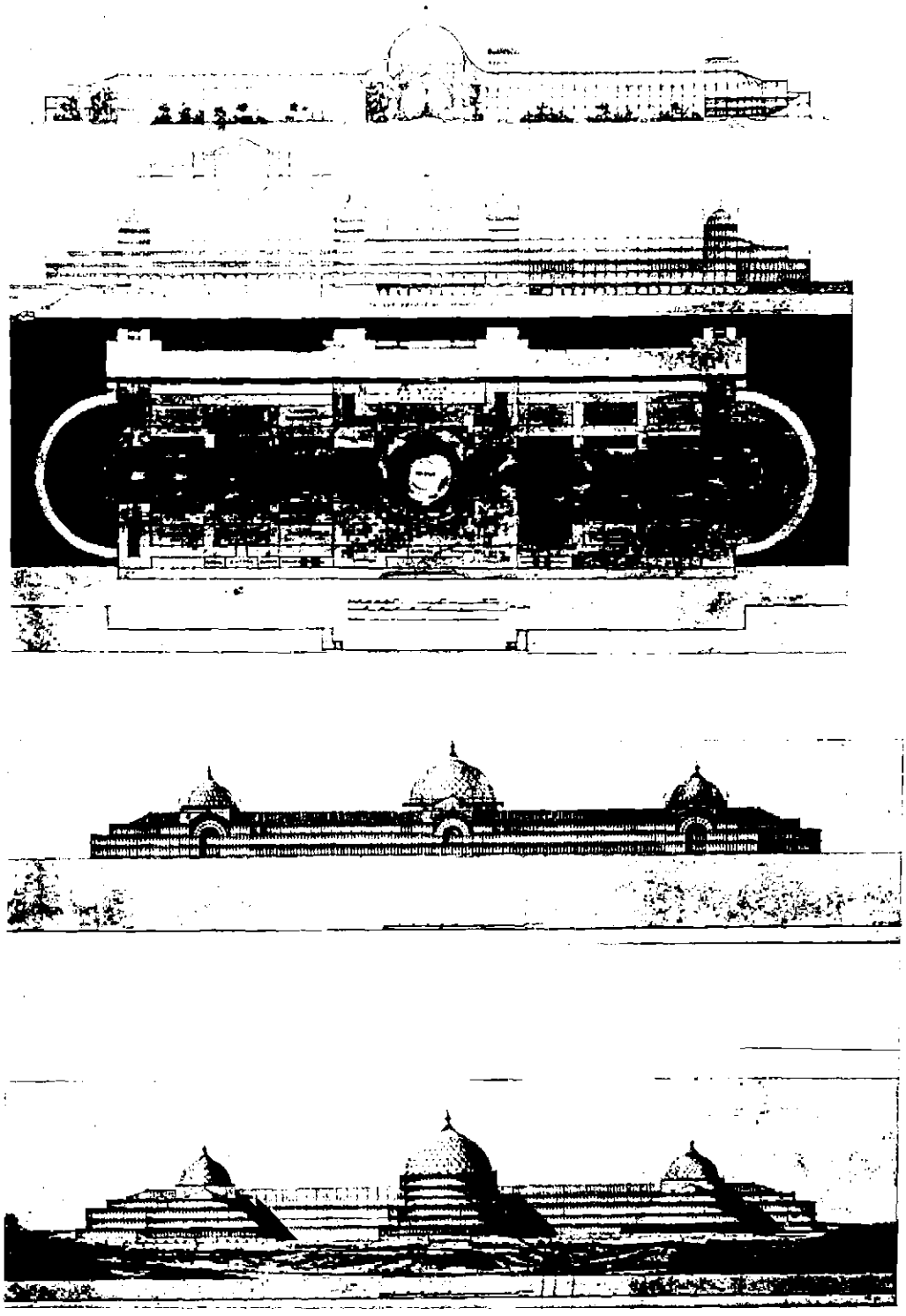
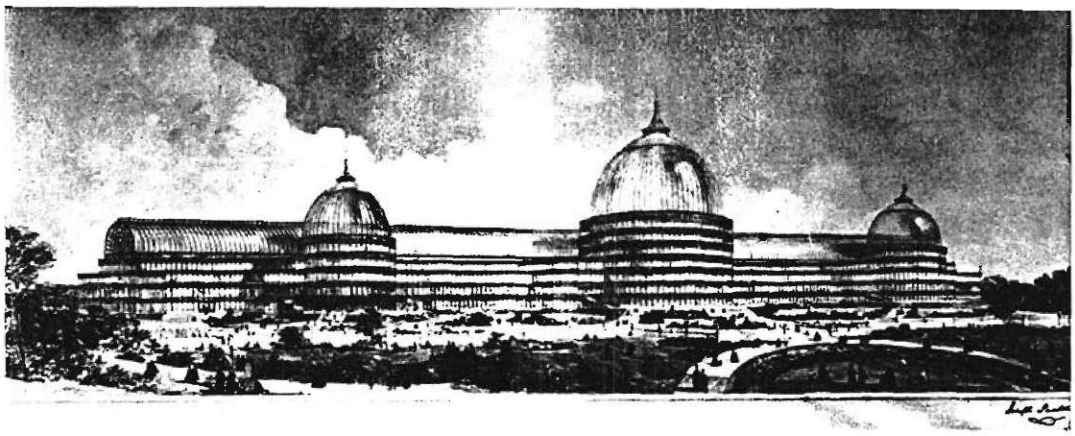


Figure 151. TOP Project Number 1, St. Cloud Exhibition Building
Figure 152. BOTTOM Project Number 2, St. Cloud Exhibition Building



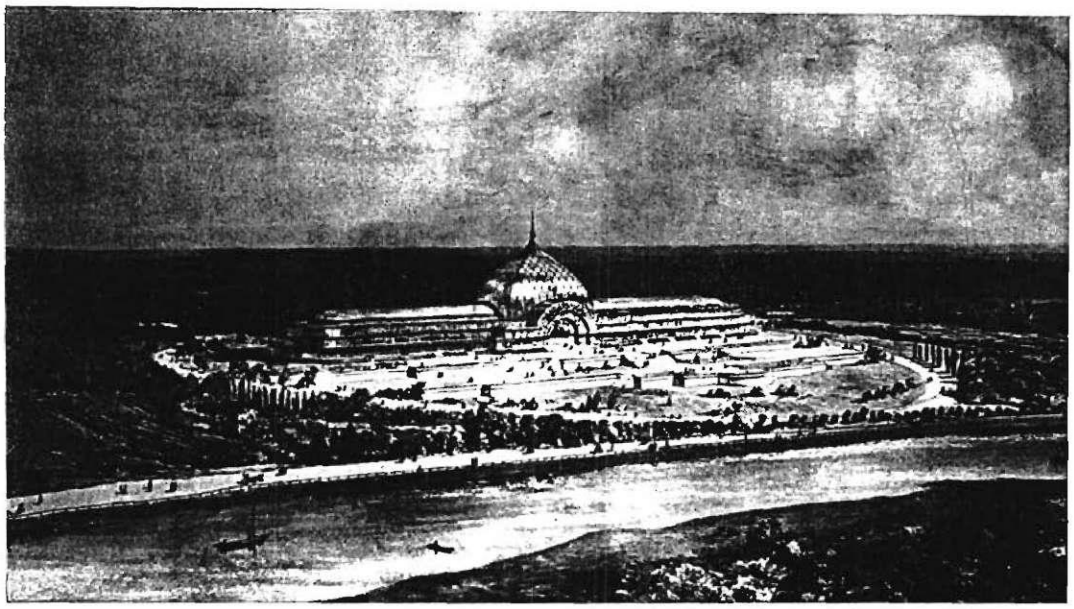
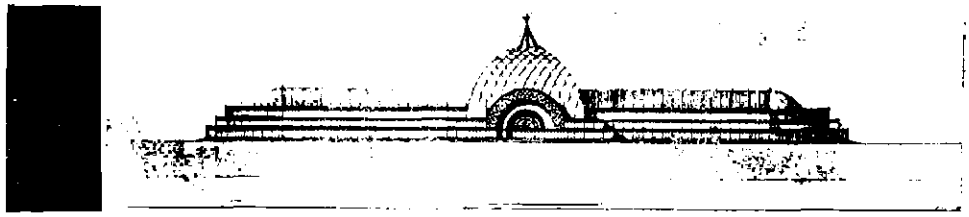
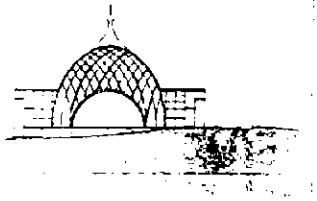
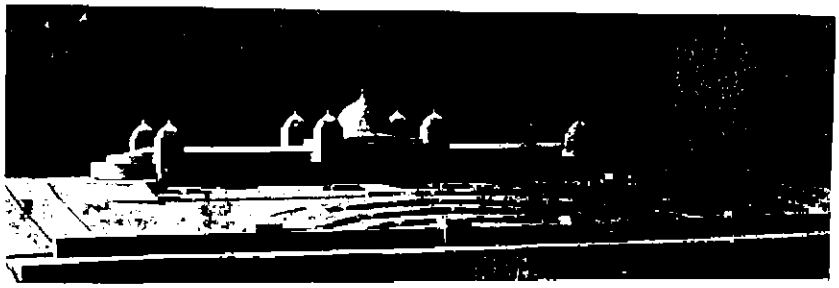


Figure 153. TOP Project design by Joseph Paxton
Figure 154. BOTTOM Project Number 3, St. Cloud Exhibition Building







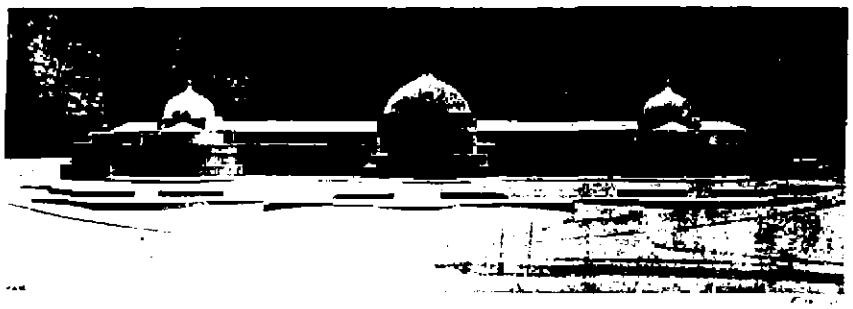
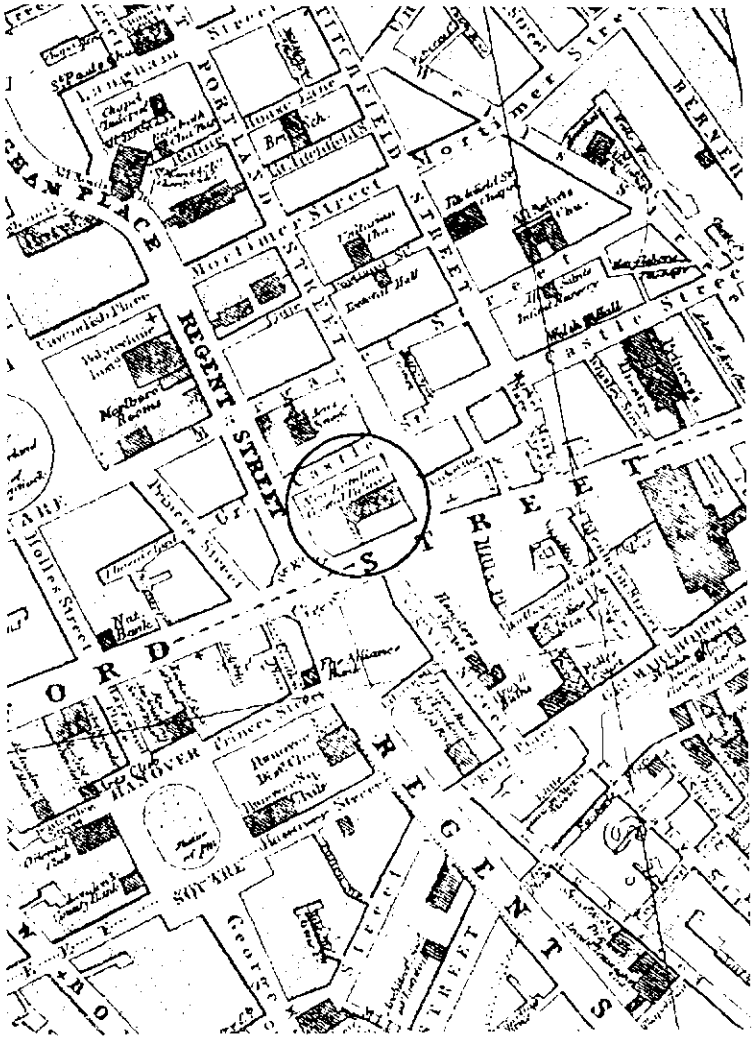


Figure 155. TOP Project Number 3 St. Cloud Exhibition Building
Figure 156. BOTTOM Models for Project Numbers 1 and 2, St. Cloud



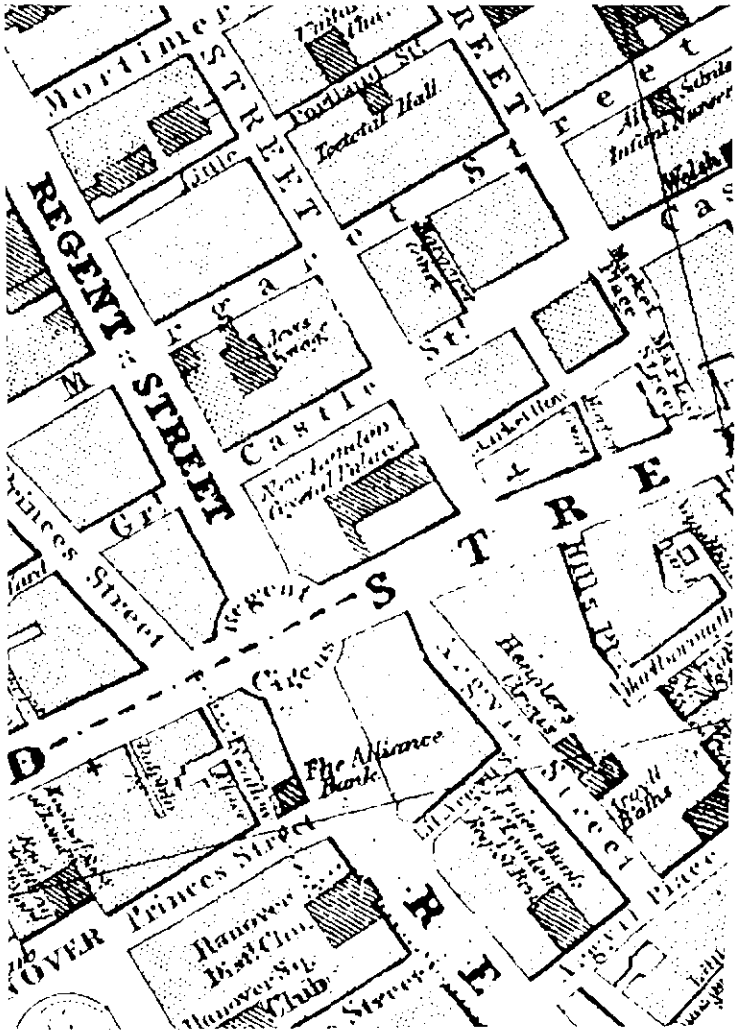


Figure 157. LEFT Site, Crystal Palace Bazaar
Figure 158. RIGHT Close-up, Site, Crystal Palace Bazaar

Figure 159. Interior, Crystal Palace Bazaar

Figure 160. Interior, Osler's Showroom

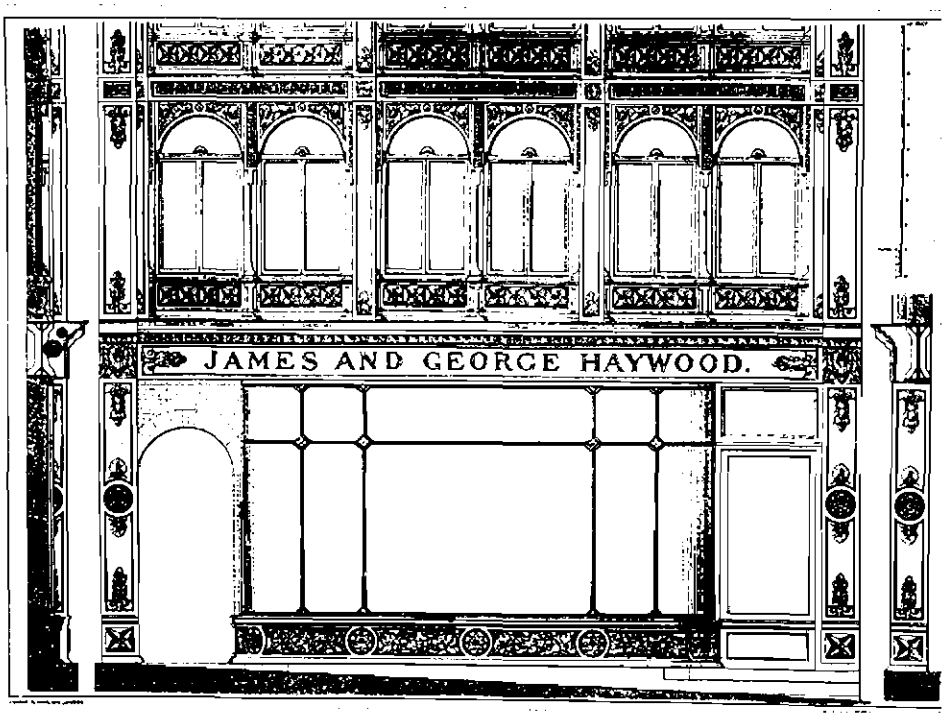


Figure 161. TOP Exterior, Jackson and Graham
Figure 162. BOTTOM Exterior, James and George Haywood

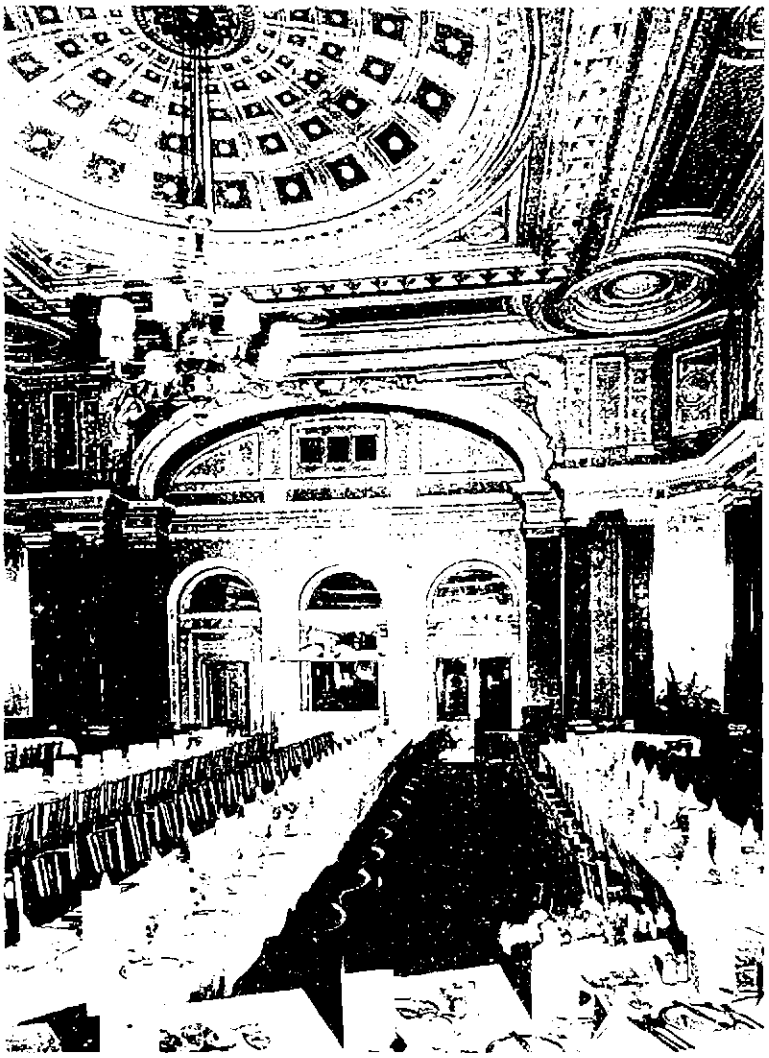


Figure 163. Dining Room, Charing Cross Hotel

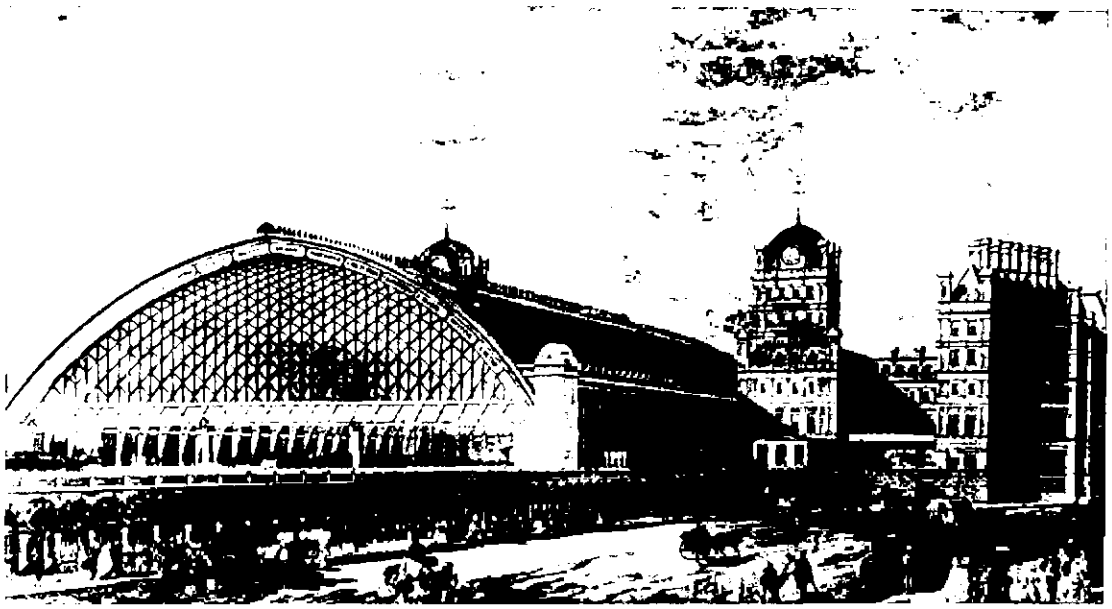


Figure 164. Design for the Hotel at St. Pancras Station

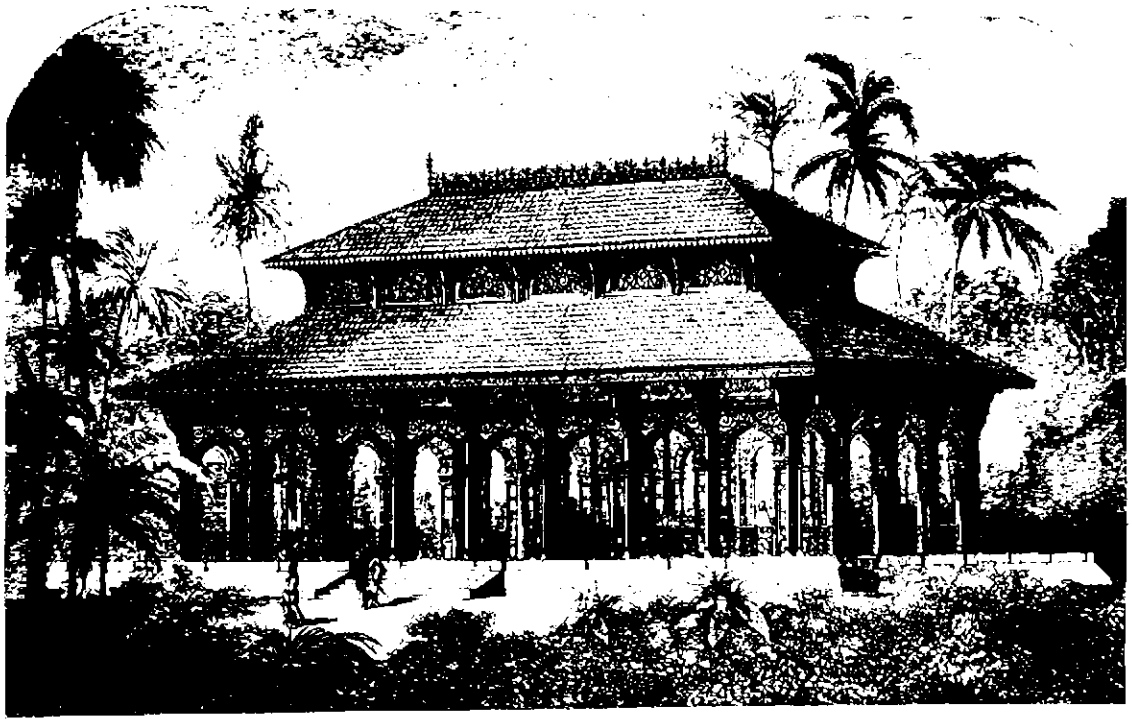
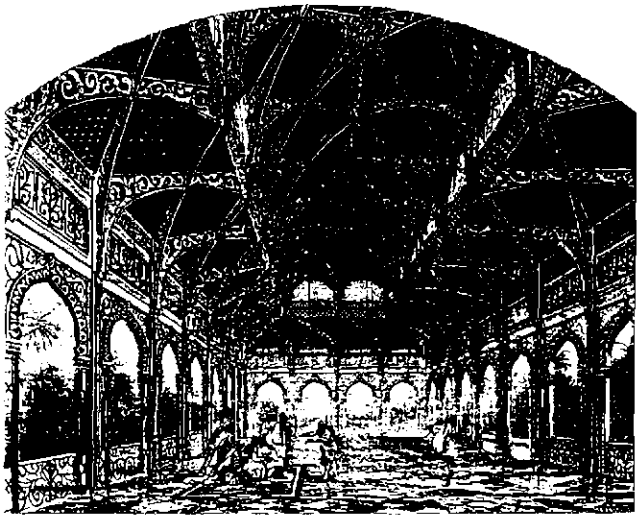


Figure 165. Elevation, Iron Kiosk



INTERIOR VIEW OF IRON KIOSK.

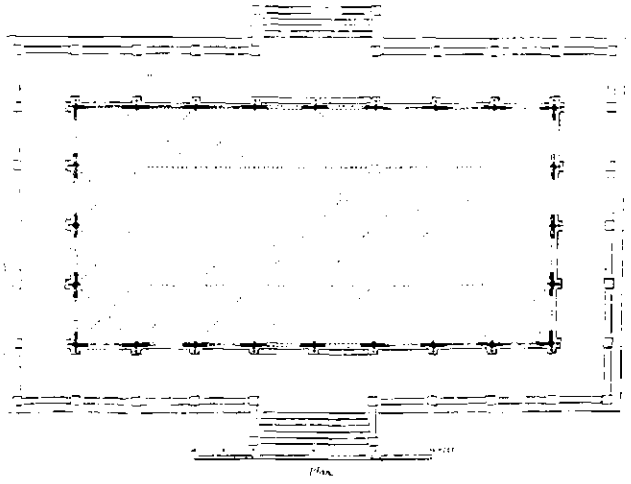


Figure 166. Plan, Iron Kiosk

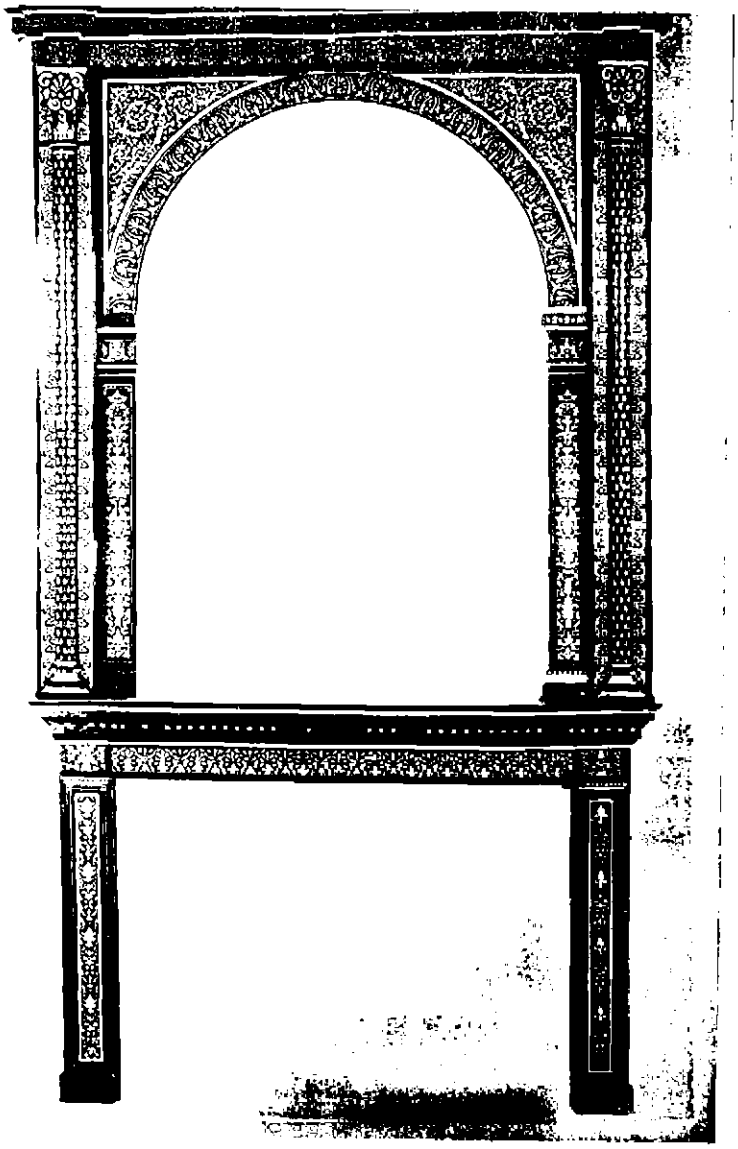


Figure 167. Ebony-veneered, ivory-inlaid fireplace by Jones for Fonthill House.

Figure 168. Ceiling, Number 16 Carlton House Terrace

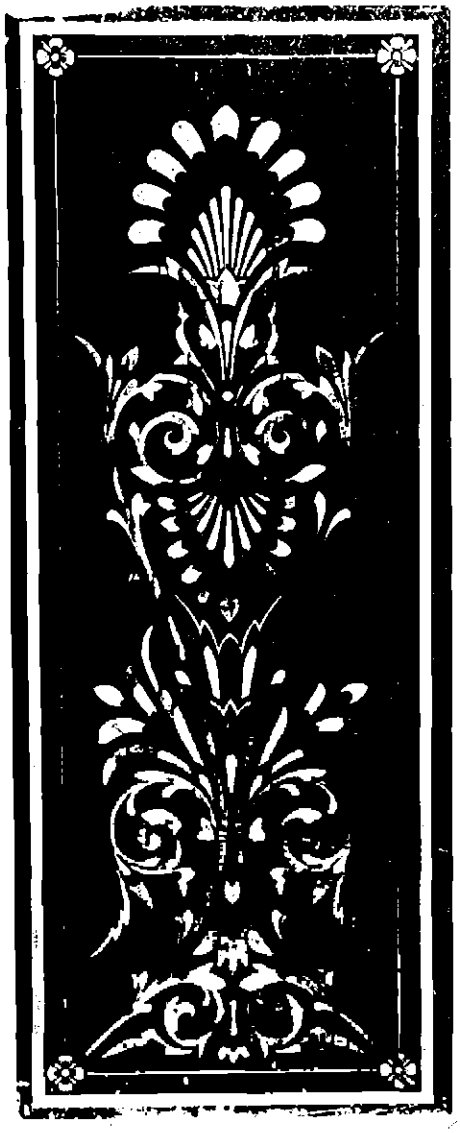
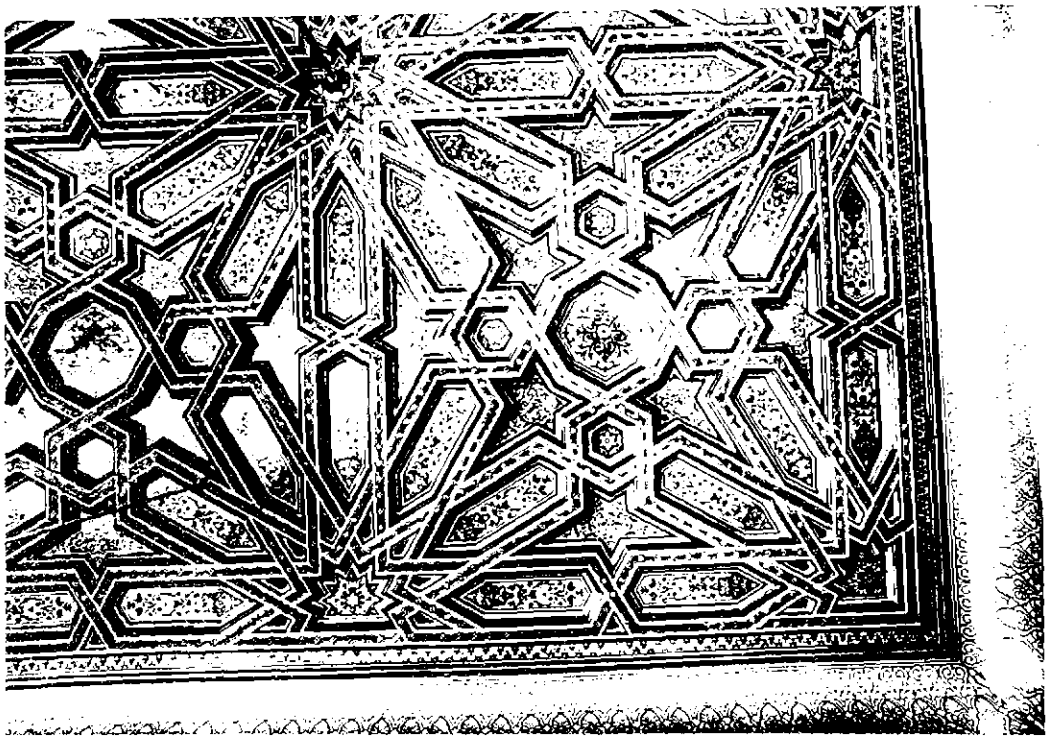


Figure 169. Detail, marquetry used in Number 16 Carlton House Terrace



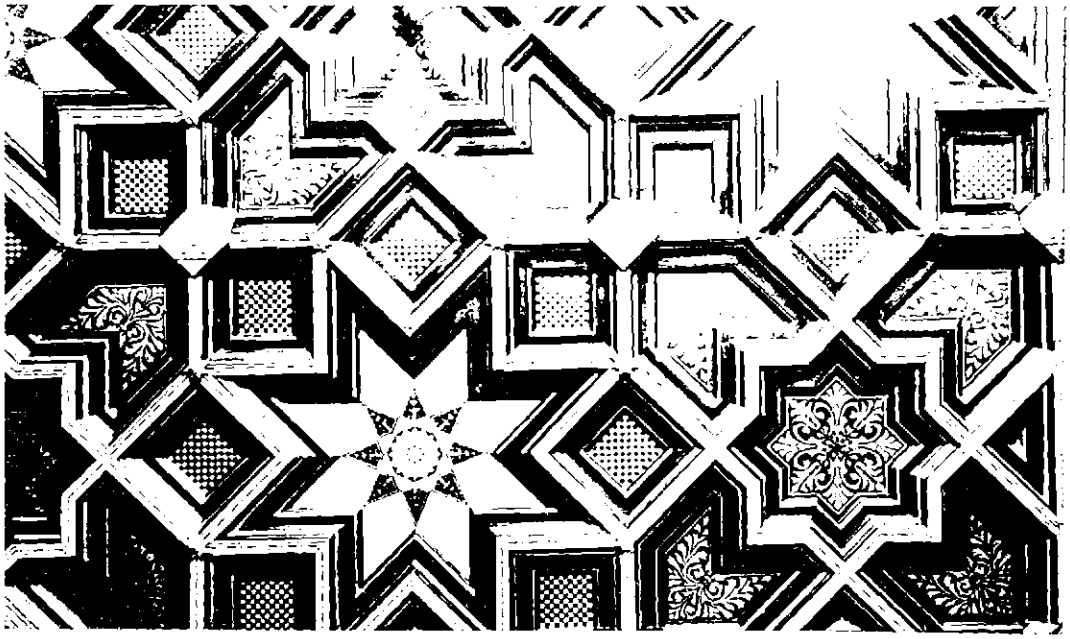


Figure 170. TOP Ceiling, Number 16 Carlton House Terrace
Figure 171. BOTTOM Ceiling, Number 16 Carlton House Terrace

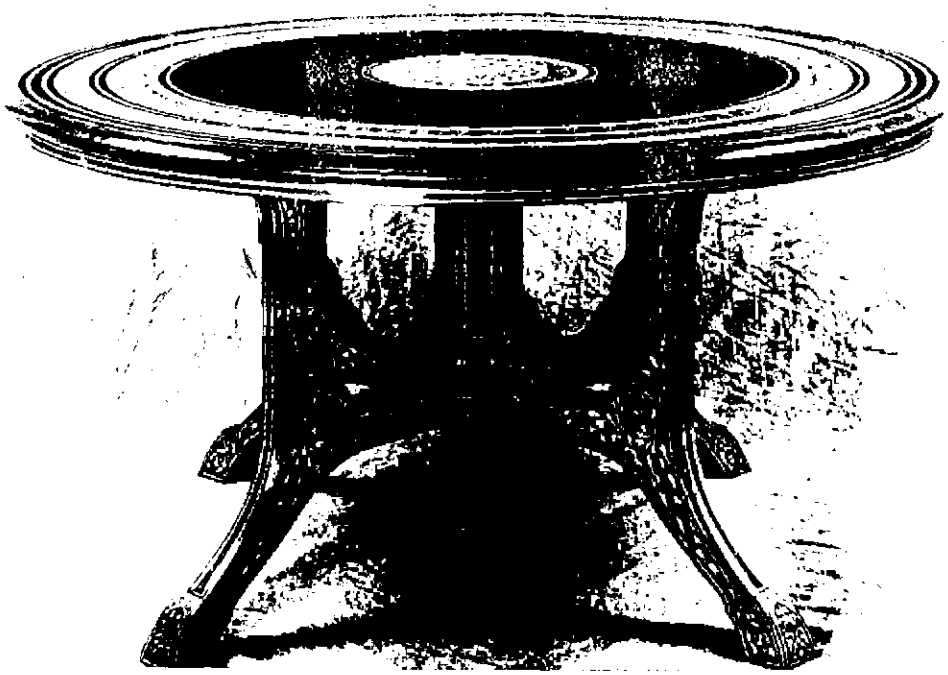
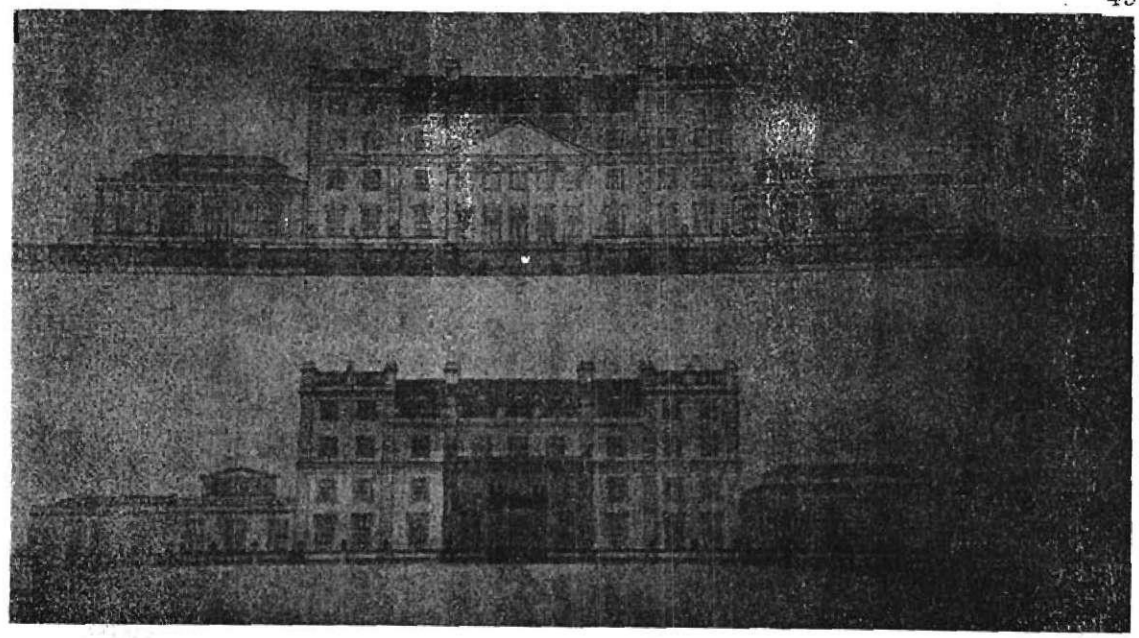


Figure 172. TOP Table exhibited at Blairman's
Figure 173. BOTTOM Top, Table exhibited at Blairman's

Figure 174. Table designed by Jones for James Mason at Eynsham Hall



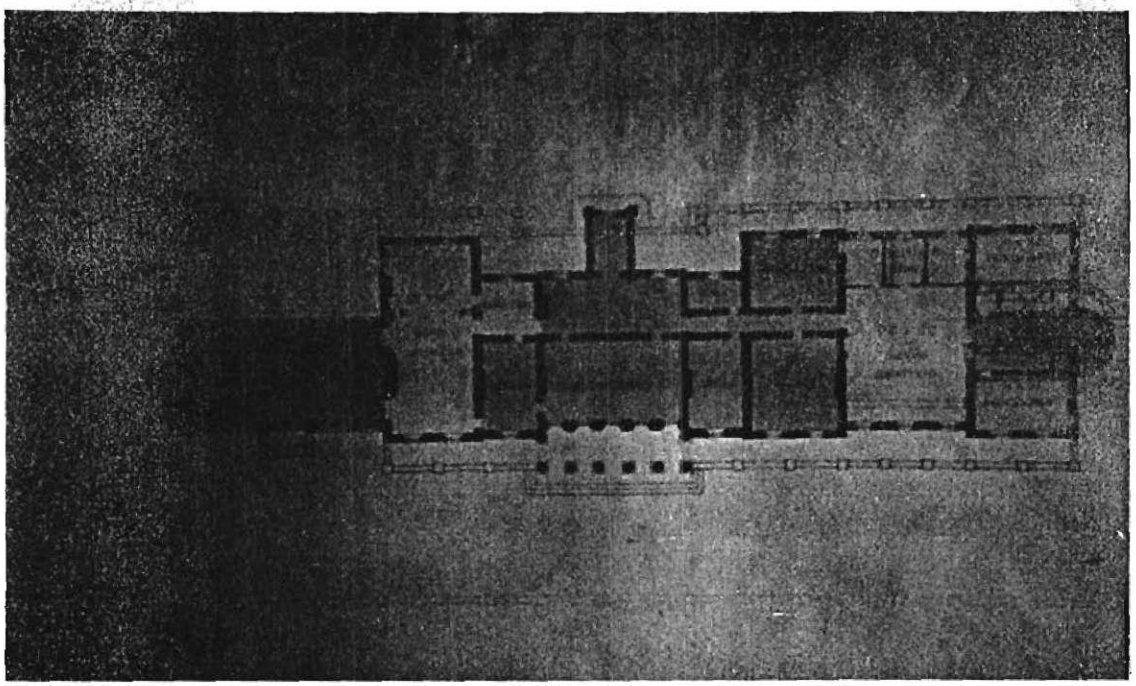
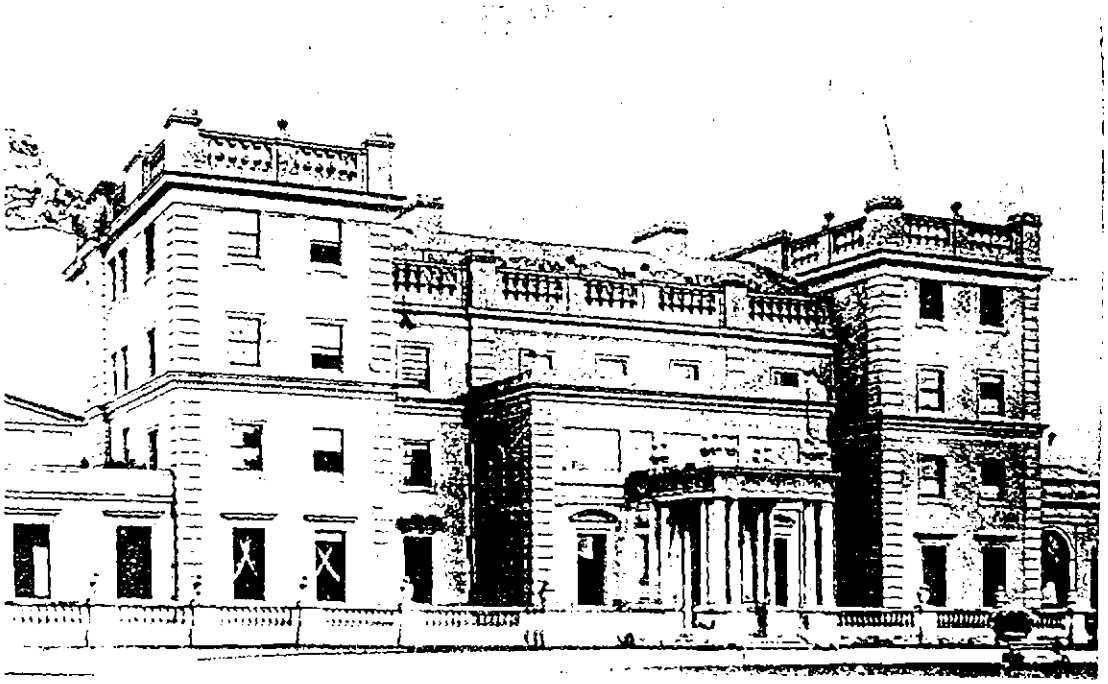


Figure 175. TOP Elevations at Eynsham, showing Jones's additions (shaded)
Figure 176. BOTTOM Plan, Eynsham Hall



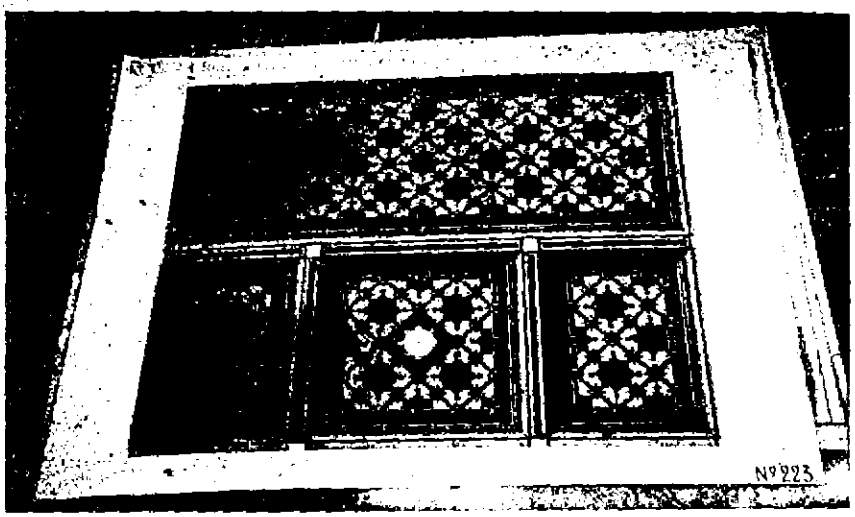
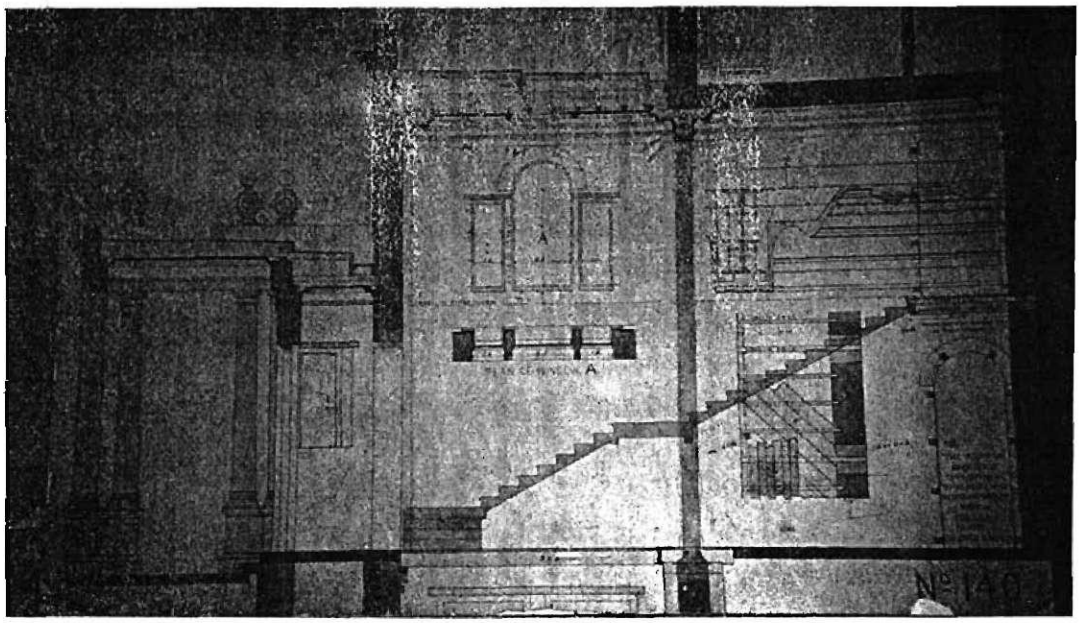


Figure 177. TOP Photo, Front Facade, Eynsham Hall, demolished
Figure 178. BOTTOM Drawing, Ceiling Decoration, New Hall, Eynsham Hall



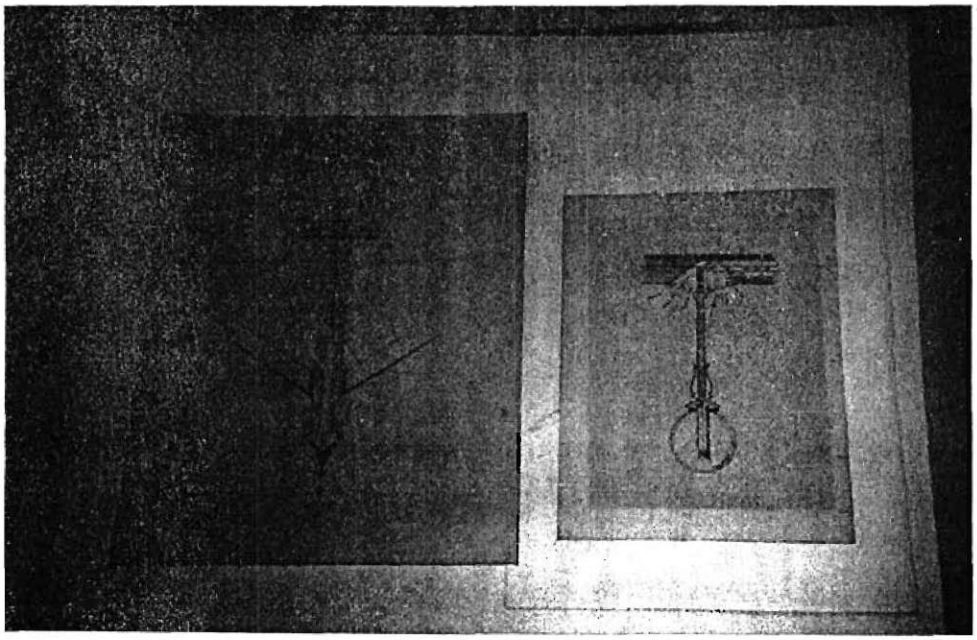


Figure 179. TOP Longitudinal section of New Hall, Eynsham Hall
Figure 180. BOTTOM Sketch, lighting fixture

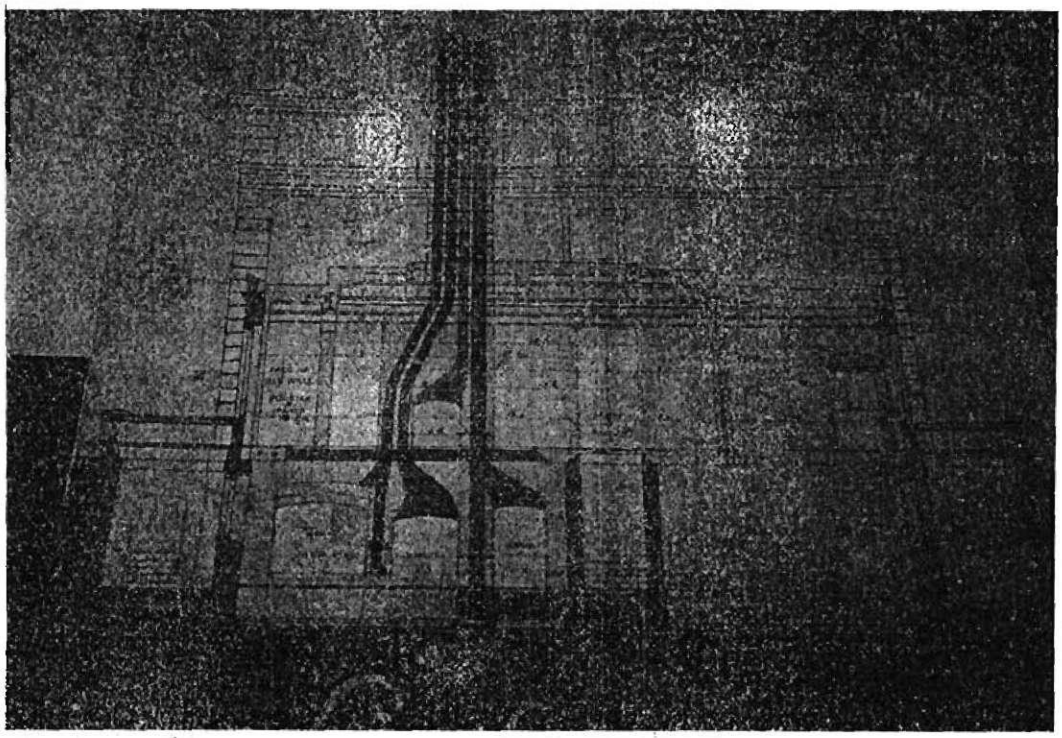
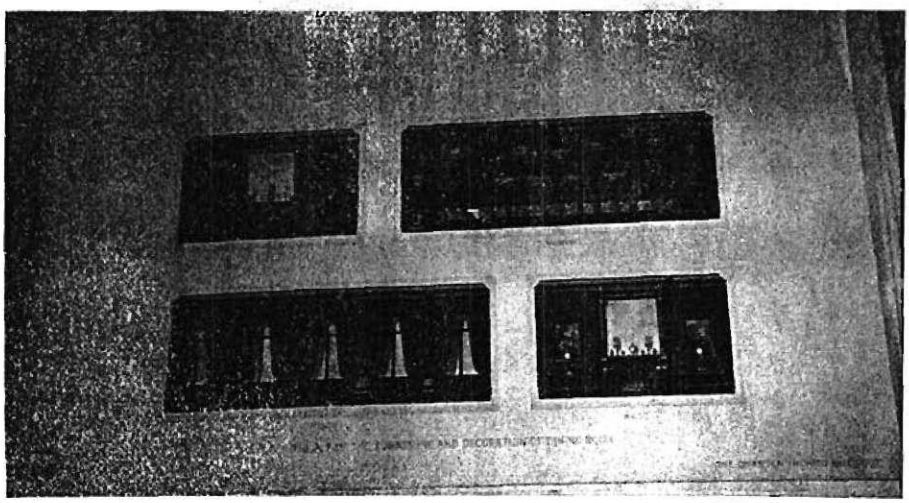


Figure 181. TOP Section showing new equipment
Figure 182. BOTTOM Decoration of the Drawing Room, Music Room, and Card Room



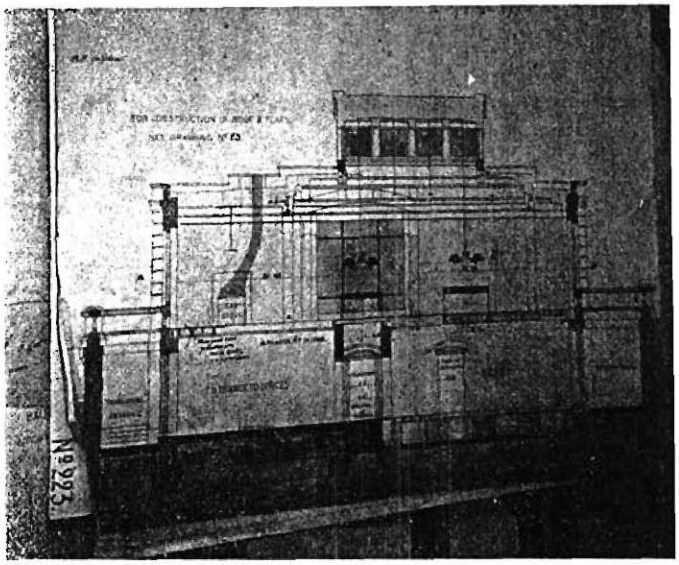
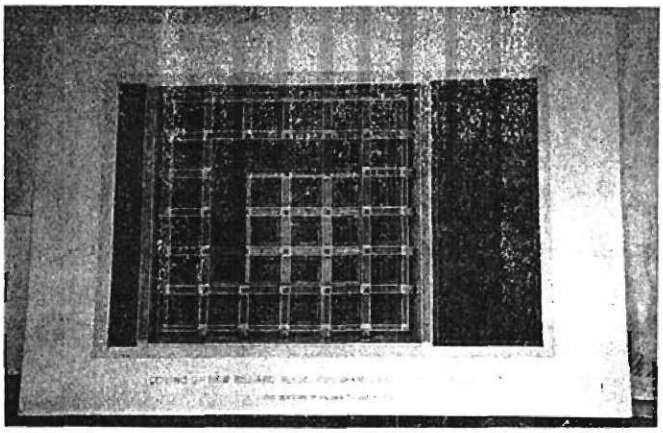


Figure 183. TOP Decoration of the Dining Room, Eynsham Hall
Figure 184. BOTTOM Section from North to South through Billiard Room



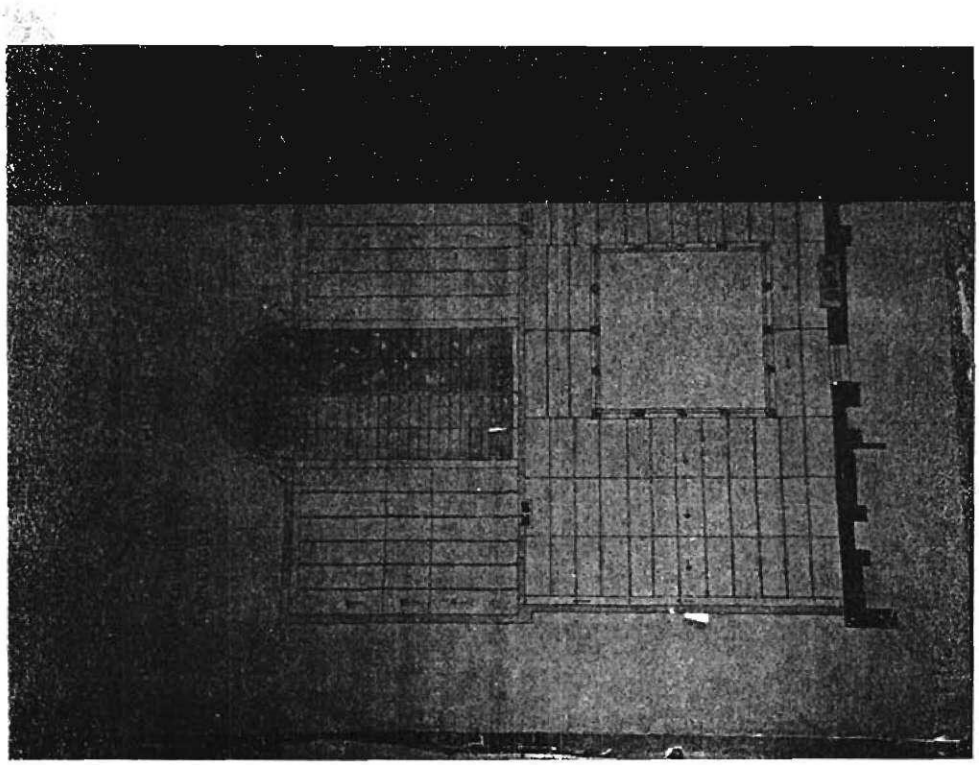
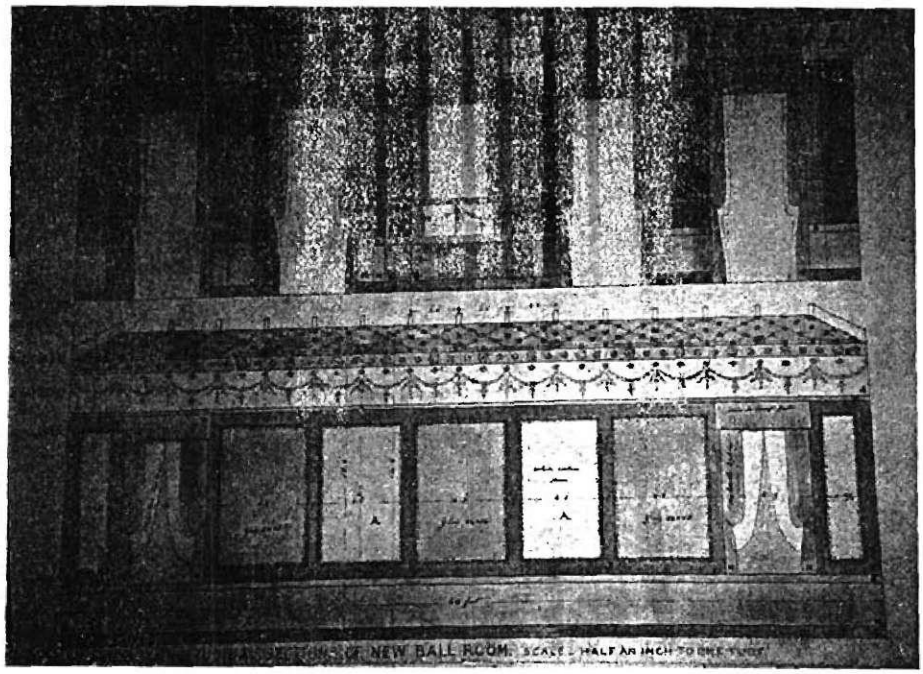


Figure 185. TOP Ceiling Decoration, Billiard Room
Figure 186. BOTTOM Plan of the Ceilings, New Addition, Eynsham Hall



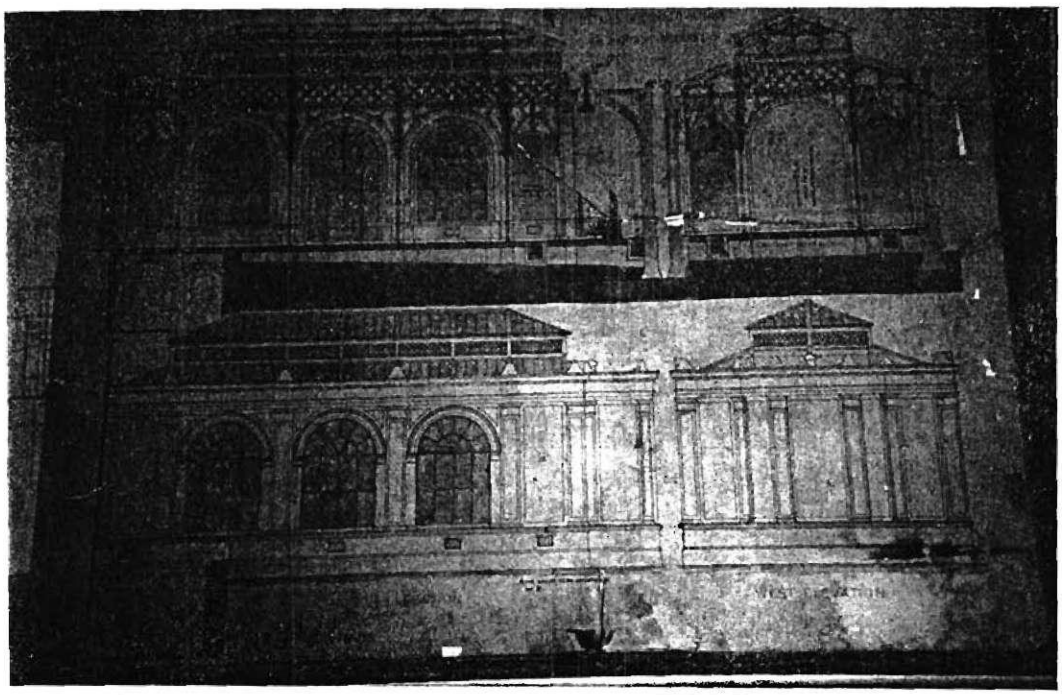
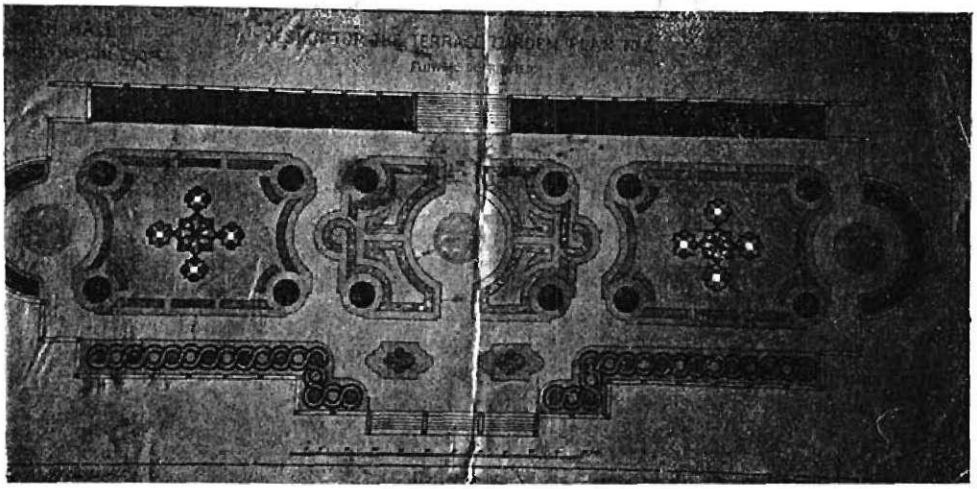


Figure 187. TOP Longitudinal section of New Ball Room, Eynsham Hall
Figure 188. BOTTOM Details of Conservatory, Eynsham Hall



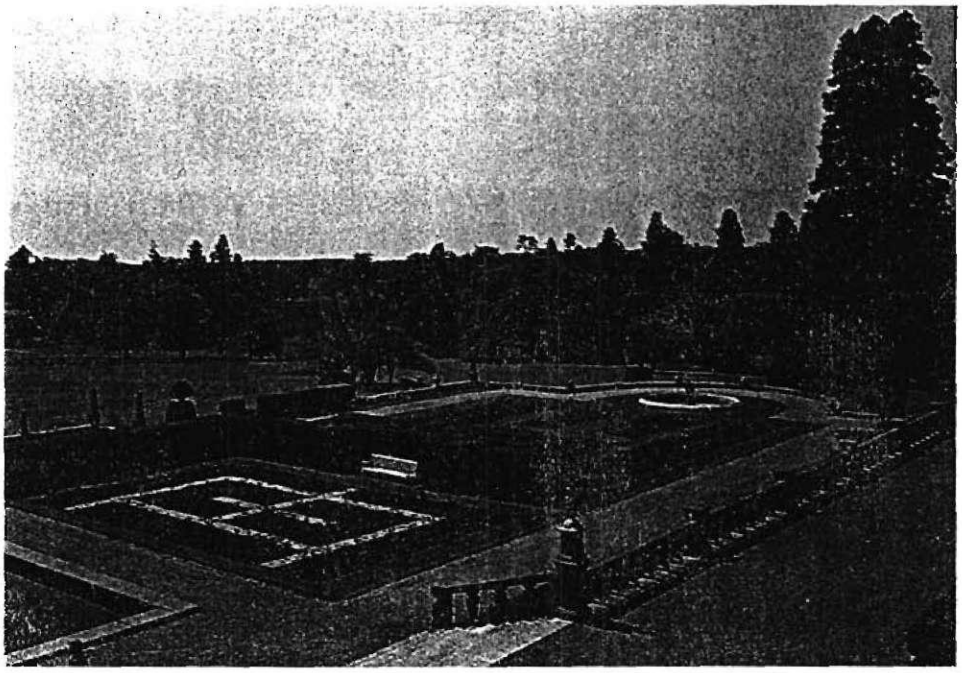


Figure 189. TOP Landscape Plan, Eynsham Hall
Figure 190. BOTTOM Photo, Landscaping at Eynsham Hall

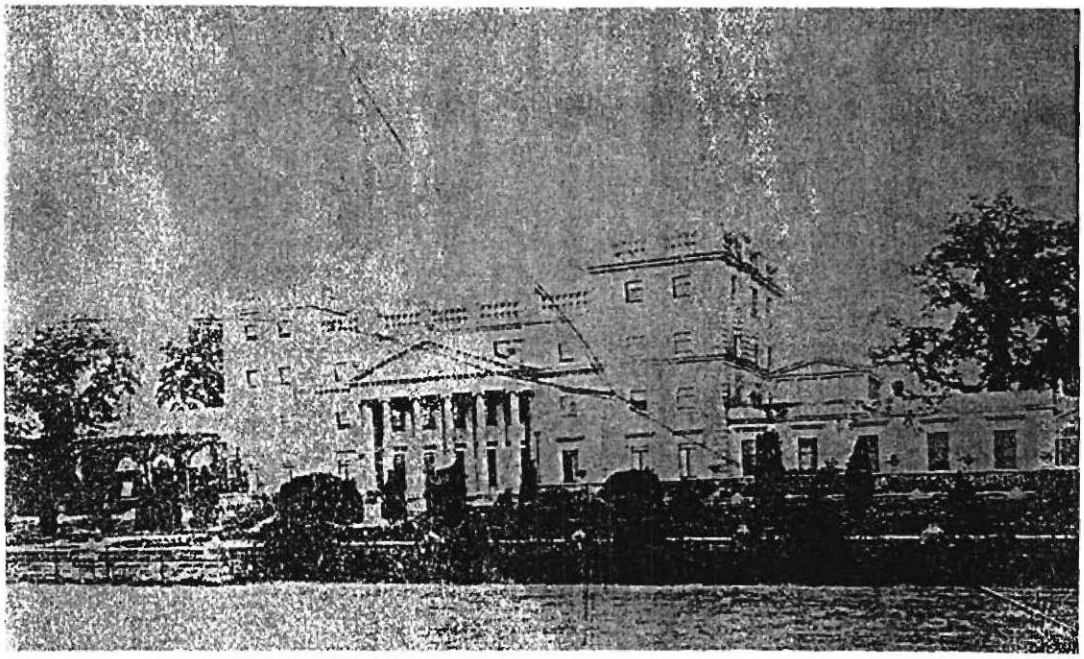
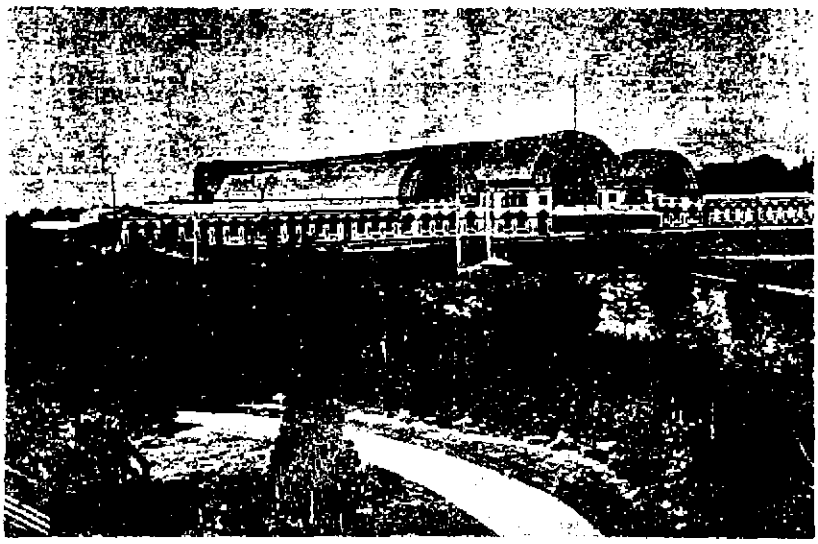


Figure 191. Photo, Garden Facade of Eynsham Hall



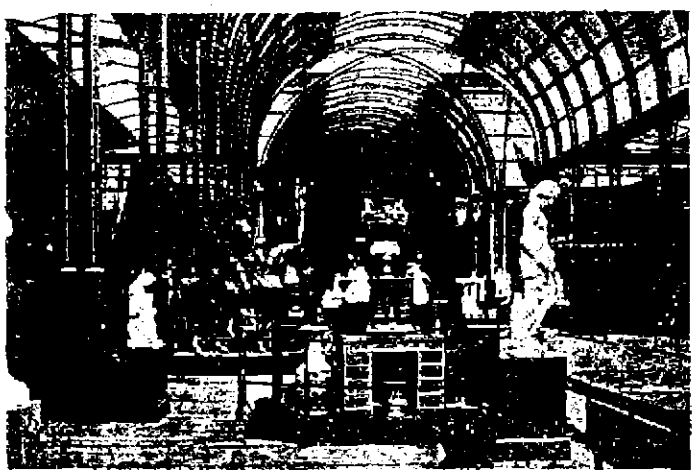


Figure 192. Exterior, Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition Building
Figure 193. Interior, Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition Building

VITA

Carol Flores was born August 5, 1944, in Lockport, New York. After graduating from Lockport Senior High School, she attended the University of New York at Albany, majoring in English, minoring in Education and Comparative Literature. She completed her Bachelor of Arts degree in 1966, and began teaching English at LaSalle School for Boys in Albany, New York.

In 1971, she joined Environment/One Corporation, Schenectady, New York, as Administrative Assistant to the President. The following year she joined the Bell System as a Service Advisor with New England Telephone Company. Four years later, she transferred to Southern Bell. By 1983, she had progressed to the level of Operations Manager, a middle management position in the new Bell/South Corporation. The desire for further study lead to her resignation in 1985. She began studying design, first, at the American College of Applied Art and then pursued a Master of Science in Architecture at the Georgia Institute of Technology. She completed the Master's and began the Doctoral Program in Architecture in September, 1990.

During her doctoral studies, Carol was awarded Presidential and Doctoral Fellowships, a Victorian Society Summer School Scholarship (1994), and a Georgia Tech Alumni Association Student Leadership Travel Award (1993). She also received the first College of Architecture GTA Teaching Excellence Award (1994) and the CETL/AMOCO Foundation GTA Teaching Excellence Award (1994).

She presented conference papers at the Canadian Center for Architecture (1994), the Society of Architectural Historians (1996, 1992), the Southeast Chapter

of the Society of Architectural Historians (1995, 1992), and the American Planning History Society (1994). Her article "US public housing in the 1930s: the first projects in Atlanta, Georgia," was published in *Planning Perspectives* (1994) and won the Southeast Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians' Award of Excellence for Best Article of 1994.

Carol is an Assistant Professor in the College of Architecture and Planning at Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana. In addition to teaching, she is continuing her research on Owen Jones. Carol has also been an invited lecturer and seminar leader for professors at the University of Maryland (College Park), at Georgia Tech, and at Ball State University.